



## OLIVER CROMWELL

Lord Protector of the Common-Wealth of  
England, Scotland and Ireland, &c.

*Taken from an Original picture of S. Cooper in the possession of M. Frankland*



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THE  
L I F E  
O F  
OLIVER CROMWELL,  
*Lord - Protector*  
O F T H E  
Commonwealth  
O F  
*England, Scotland, and Ireland.*

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*Impartially collected from the best HISTORIANS,  
and several Original MANUSCRIPTS.*

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The FOURTH EDITION, with ADDITIONS.

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# АПНЯ



## THE P R E F A C E.

**H**E following sheets contain the history of a person of a very singular and uncommon character, who made the greatest figure during our late troubles, and the latter part of whose life was fill'd with a variety of great actions both in war and policy ; who, from a private gentleman of no considerable fortune, raised himself to the highest pitch of power and grandeur, obtain'd the supreme authority and command over three nations, and over-aw'd the most powerful Princes and States about us ; a man whose good fortune, in most of his great undertakings, accompany'd him to the last ; and who, after a continued series of successes, died in the peaceable possession of the sovereign power, was in terr'd among our Kings with a regal pomp, and had his death condoled by the greatest Princes and States of *Christendom*, in solemn embassies to his son. It being a natural curiosity in men, to know the characters of such as have render'd themselves famous by uncommon exploits, I judg'd a regular and just account of the actions, proceedings, and management of this extraordinary Man, could not be unacceptable.

*The P R E F A C E.*

AMONG the many who have hitherto wrote of him, very few have done it with temper ; some commanding, others condemning him, and both out of measure : I have therefore, in compiling the following LIFE, taken care to avoid both extremes ; and declining either panegyric or satire, have faithfully related matters of fact, and left the reader to judge of them as he shall think fit. I have purposely avoided all reproachful terms and invidious reflexions, which discover only the anger and malice of an author, whose business is only to describe plain matters of fact without prejudice or partiality. This I have sincerely endeavour'd to do, having as freely set down those actions of CROMWELL which carry an ill aspect with them, as I have those which appear with a better face, and are by many of his adversaries acknowledg'd to be praise-worthy. In short, I have neither lessen'd his bad, nor multiplied his good deeds ; but have had a strict regard to truth, as far as I was by good authorities convinc'd of it.

THE *Lives* that have been hitherto written of this great Man, are manifestly faulty in many respects. The foreign ones are rather *romances* than *histories*, being fill'd with such intrigues, adventures, and actions, as our *English* writers speak not one word of. As to those in our own language, they are either such as discover the most fervile flattery or bitterest rancor, or are wrote in an odd sort of ludicrous stile ; and all of them are exceedingly defective, wholly omitting several very remarkable transactions and occurrences, and very imperfectly

## The P R E F A C E.

fectly describing many others. All these faults are carefully avoided in the following history, wherein I have endeavour'd to be as plain and intelligible as possible, and to omit no material fact or curious story I could find supported by any good authorities. Where our own and foreign writers disagree in relating the circumstances of a fact, I have followed the former, supposing them to be the best inform'd; and when any of our own historians differ, I usually take notice of such difference, that nothing may be related with a greater appearance of certainty, than in proportion to the real evidence it has to support it. I have perus'd and consulted the *Lives* above-mentioned, that nothing that is valuable in them might be pass'd by; tho' I found them so very faulty in one respect or other, that I usually chose to take the stories which they have, from some other authors of more approved credit, rather than from them: So that this is a work entirely new.

I HAVE been particularly very large upon that nice period, from the conclusion of the civil war to the King's death; and have given as particular and exact an account as possible of the differences between the Parliament and Army, of the management between the King and Parliament, and between the King and the Army, of the dissensions between the Agitators and superior Officers about treating with the King, and how CROMWELL was induc'd to desert the King's interest, and reconcile himself again to the Agitators; all which at last brought on the King's death.

As

*The P R E F A C E.*

As to the method I have taken in composing the following LIFE, it is divided into three parts, and each part into several distinct chapters. The first part contains the actions of this great Man during the life of King CHARLES I. to the death of that unfortunate Monarch: The second describes his actions under the Commonwealth government, from the King's death to the dissolution of the Long Parliament: And the third gives an account of his management and behaviour in his *Protectorship*, from the dissolution of the said Parliament to his death. To all this, as a conclusion, I have added his character, his magnificent lying in state, and pompous funeral; as also an *Appendix*, containing some account of his children, and of the state of affairs to the Restoration of King CHARLES II. Strict regard has been had to the chronology from one period to another. By this method I have consulted the reader's ease, as well as his pleasure and profit in the history it self.



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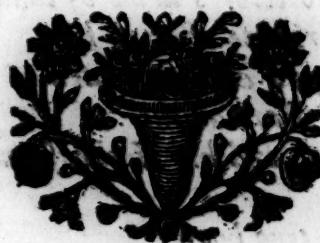
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T H E



T H E  
L I F E  
O F  
OLIVER CROMWELL.

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P A R T I.

*Containing an account of his life and actions, to the time of the KING's death.*

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C H A P. I.

*Some account of him till the breaking out of the WAR between the KING and PARLIAMENT.*

 OLIVER CROMWELL was born at His birth Huntingdon, April 25, 1599. His fa- and de-  
ther was Mr. Robert Cromwell, second scent.  
son of Sir Henry Cromwell, and brother of Sir Oliver, who at his house at Hinckinbrook, made the noblest entertainment for king James I. at his accession to the English crown, that had ever been offer'd by a private subject. Sir Oliver had a very great estate; but our Oliver's father being a younger brother, had not above 300l. per annum.

THE name of this family was not originally Cromwell but Williams. Morgan Williams, son

## The LIFE of.

and heir of *William*, of a very ancient family in *Wales*, married the sister of the famous *Thomas lord Cromwell*, who was made earl of *Essex* by king *Henry VIII*. By her he had a son named *Richard*, who when he grew up was knighted by king *Henry*, and took the name of his uncle *Cromwell*, tho' he kept the arms of *Williams*. He married *Frances*, daughter and coheir of Sir *Thomas Murfyn*; and upon the dissolution of the monasteries, obtain'd all those lands in *Huntingtonshire*, which belong'd to any of them in that county, which amounted to a prodigious value: And this was the first settling of this family in that county. Of this Sir *Richard Cromwell*, we have the following account: On the 1st of *May*, 1540, there was held a solemn triumph at *Westminster* before king *Henry VIII*. by Sir *John Dudley*, Sir *Richard Cromwell*, and four other challengers; which was proclaim'd in *France*, *Spain*, *Scotland*, and *Flanders*: On the second day at tournaments, Sir *Richard Cromwell* overthrew Mr. *Palmer* off his horse; and on the fifth day at *Barryers*, he likewise overthrew Mr. *Cuspey*, to his and the challengers great honour. He had a son, Sir *Henry Cromwell*, (our protector's grandfather) who was knighted by queen *Elizabeth* in the 6th year of her reign. This Sir *Henry* married *Joan*, daughter and heir of Sir *Ralph Warren*, and made his chief seat upon the ruins of a house of nuns at *Hinchinbrook*. He was a very worthy gentleman, and was highly honour'd and belov'd both in court and country. He had six sons; *Oliver*, (already mentioned,) *Robert*, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Philip*, and *Ralph*. The second son, Mr. *Robert Cromwell*, who was also a gentleman of very good reputation in his country, and was no less esteem'd than any of his ancestors for his personal worth, married the daughter of Sir *Richard Steward*, and by her had the famous *Oliver*, the subject of the ensuing history.

THOUGH

THOUGH Mr. *Robert Cromwell* had but a small His education and estate, yet he took great care of his son's education, sending him, when grown up, to the university of Cambridge, where he was a student in Sidney college, though 'twas observ'd, that he was not so much inclin'd to speculation as to action. Whilst he was here his father died, upon which he return'd home, and led an extravagant kind of life, addicting himself to such follies as young persons are too apt to fall into; so that his mother was advis'd to send him up to *Lincoln's-Inn*, where he betook himself to the study of the law: But not liking that sedentary employment, he soon return'd again into the country, and followed his former vicious courses, to the wasting of a great part of his paternal estate. At length he became greatly reform'd, and grew mighty sober and religious; and having an estate of four or five hundred pounds *per annum*, left him by Sir *Robert Steward*, his uncle by his mother's side, he married *Elizabeth*, daughter of Sir *James Boucher*.

AFTER his reformation, he adher'd for some time to the church of *England*, very devoutly attending on the publick service; but at length, falling into the hands of some *Puritans*, he became a zealous friend to that party; frequently entertaining their ministers at his house. After this time he is said to have been so scrupulously just, that having some years before won thirty pounds of one Mr. *Calton* at play, he now paid it him back again, telling him that he had got it by indirect and unlawful means, and that it would be a sin in him to keep it any longer.

We hear nothing of his acting in a publick capacity till the year 1628, when he was one of the committee of religion in king *Charles's* third parliament, and gave information to the house, that the bishop of *Winchester* countenanced some who preached downright popery, and that 'twas by his means

1628.

Is one of  
the com-  
mittee of  
religion  
in king  
*Charles's*  
third par-  
liament.

## The LIFE of

means that Dr. *Manwaring* was promoted to a rich living ; concluding, *If these be steps to church preferment, what are we shortly to expect ?*

1637.  
His design  
of remov-  
ing to  
*New-Eng-*  
*land pre-*  
*vented.*

THE power of archbishop *Laud* growing grievous to the *Puritans*, he being very severe in his proceedings against them, many of them began to think of taking refuge in foreign plantations ; and such numbers of families actually transported themselves, that the government at length taking umbrage at it, published a proclamation, to restrain the disorderly transporting his majesty's subjects to the plantations in *America*, without a royal licence. Mr. *Oliver Cromwell*, together with Sir *Matthew Boynton*, Sir *William Constable*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, Mr. *John Hampden*, and several other gentlemen, were preparing to remove themselves, and were actually embark'd for that purpose ; but were prevented by the said proclamation, and the following order of council, " That the lord treasurer of *England* should take speedy and effectual course for the stay of eight ships now in the river of *Thames* prepar'd to go for *New-England*, and should likewise give order for the putting on land all the passengers and provisions therein intended for the voyage." And thus Mr. *Cromwell's* voyage to *New-England* was prevented.

1638.  
He oppo-  
ses the  
draining  
of the fens.

ABOUT the year 1638, the king and some lords became undertakers for draining the fen-lands in *Lincolnshire*, and the isle of *Ely*. This project was oppos'd by several, chiefly by the town of *Cambridge* ; and Mr. *Oliver Cromwell* boldly headed this party against the undertakers for draining the fens.

1640.  
Is chosen  
to serve in  
*the Long  
Parlia-  
ment.*

By this means, and by promising his further assistance in their behalf, he got to be elected burgess for the town of *Cambridge* in 1640, to serve in that parliament which was afterwards called the *Long Parliament*.

## OLIVER CROMWELL.

5

IN this parliament he soon shew'd himself a zealous and forward opposer of grievances in religion ; and 'tis said, that one time when Sir Thomas Chicheley and Mr. Warwick were talking with him in the house about the affair of religion, he said, *I can tell you, Sirs, what I wou'd not have, tho' I cannot tell what I wou'd.* Concerns him self in the grievances of the religion.

HE was a great promoter of the commons grand remonstrance of all the grievances in the nation from the king's accession to that time, which was presented to his majesty at his return from Scotland, soon after the Irish rebellion and massacre, in which above 150000 Protestants, men, women, and children, were barbarously murder'd by the Papists. A day having been appointed for retaking this remonstrance into the consideration of the house, upon its not being call'd for till noon that day, 'twas urg'd and consented to, that it should be deferr'd till the next morning ; upon which occasion Mr. Cromwell His dis-ask'd the lord Falkland, *Why be was for deferring course with the it, since that day wou'd soon have determin'd it ?* lord Falk- Who answer'd, *There would not be time enough, for land upon sure it would take some debate ;* to which the other it. reply'd, *A very sorry one, concluding it would be opposed but by a few :* But the debate being enter'd upon about nine the next morning, continu'd all that day and the night following till three in the morning, when it was carried for the remonstrance by nine voices only. And when the house broke up, the lord Falkland ask'd Mr. Cromwell, *Whether there had been a debate ?* Who answer'd, *He wou'd take his word another time ;* and whispering him in the ear, solemnly assur'd him, *That if the remonstrance had not pass'd, be would have sold all be bad the next morning, and never have seen England more ; and be knew many other honest men of the same resolution.*

THE difference between the king and parliament (occasion'd by evil counsels on one hand, and

1642. continual jealousies and fears on the other) was now  
 The civil grown to such a height, that soon after the present-  
 war remonstrance, it broke out into an open  
 breaks war between them ; of which, so far as concerns  
 out. our present purpose, we shall give some account in  
 the following chapters.

---

## C H A P. II.

*From the breaking out of the civil war, to  
 the battle of Marston-Moor.*

*Cromwell  
 made cap-  
 tain of a  
 troop of  
 horse.*

*His strata-  
 gem to try  
 their cou-  
 rage.*

*He secures  
 Cam-  
 bridge.*

*Takes the  
 high-  
 sheriff of  
 Hertford-  
 shire.*

**A**T the breaking out of the war, Mr. *Cromwell* was commissioned by the parliament, to be captain of a troop of horse, which he speedily rais'd in his own country. In listing them, he had regard to such only as he thought to be stout and resolute ; and having compleated his troop he us'd this art to prove them : Upon their first muster, near some of the king's garrisons, he privily plac'd twelve of them in an ambuscade, who with a trumpet sounding a charge, made furiously towards the body, of which above twenty, thinking they came from the enemy presently fled for fear, whom *Cromwell* immediately cashier'd, and mounted their horses with such as were more bold and courageous.

**T**H E university of *Cambridge* being not far off him, he very seasonably secured it for the parliament, when a great quantity of the college-plate was just upon the point of being convey'd to the king at *Oxford*. And so active and industrious was he, that when Sir *Thomas Connesby*, high-sheriff of *Hertfordshire*, was going to proclaim the earl of *Essex*, the parliament's general, and all his adherents traytors, at *St. Albans*, on a market-day, he rushed unawares into the town with a party of horse, surpriz'd the sheriff and his assistants, and sent them prisoners

prisoners to London, to the no small satisfaction of the parliament, who gave him the thanks of the house, from this time looking upon him as a very promising person for their service.

IN the year 1643, he was advanced to the degree of a colonel, and by his own management rais'd a regiment of a thousand horse, with which he rang'd about, and with great industry obstructed many levies for the king in *Cambridgeshire*, *Essex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*; and particularly he defeated the project of a counter-association for the king's service, contriv'd by Sir *John Pettus*, Sir *Edward Barker*, and other gentlemen, at the town of *Lestoff* in *Suffolk*, with great secrecy and celerity entering the town and surprizing them all. Here he also gain'd good store of ammunition, saddles, pistols, powder, shot, and several engines of war, sufficient to have serv'd a considerable force. And he surpriz'd those gentlemen in the very nick of time; for as many more, who were before listed, design'd the very next day to have met at the same place, and if their design had succeeded, the whole country had been in great danger of being lost. So that this action of *Cromwell's* was a very seasonable service to the parliament, and prov'd a great discouragement to all the king's party both in *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*.

AFTER this, he was sent to guard some ammunition from *Warwick* to *Glocester*, and by the way took *Hilfden-House*, and in it Sir *Alexander Denton*, the owner, colonel *Smith*, many inferior officers, about a hundred horse, thirteen barrels of powder, and about a hundred and fifty common soldiers, besides forty slain; then he gave an alarm to *Oxford*, and so went on to *Glocester*. Takes *Hilfden-*  
*house*.

He was now made lieutenant-general to the earl of *Manchester*; and having rais'd a greater force of such as came freely in to him, he march'd towards *Lincolnshire*, with a resolution to assist those forces which lieut  
general to  
the earl of  
*Manchester*, and  
marches  
towards  
*Newark*.

which lay about *Newark*, one of the strongest garrisons then held for the king. In his march thro' *Huntingdonshire*, he disarmed many who were ill affected to the parliament. He was now above two thousand strong, and receiv'd an addition of horse from captain *Hotham*. At his first approach before *Newark* he perform'd a good piece of service: for captain *Wray* with his *Lincolnshire* horse too rashly quartering near the town, was in the night set upon by the garrison, which made a great sally, and surrounded and took all his men. But the alarm coming to *Cromwell*, he advanced, and at ten a clock at night fell upon the *Newarkers*, rescued captain *Wray's* troop, and took three of theirs, with the slaughter of many of them. After this, setting down before the town, he took many men and colours at several times; and soon after meeting with twenty four troops of the king's horse and dragoons near *Grantham*, he encounter'd them with such fury and resolution, that tho' he had but seven troops with him, he entirely routed them.

Routs the  
king's  
troops  
near  
*Grant-  
ham*.

Relieves  
*Gainsbo-  
rough*.

THE earl of *Newcastle*, being inform'd that the lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* had got possession of the town of *Gainsborough* for the parliament, sent his brother colonel *Cavendish*, lieutenant-general of his army, with a great party of horse and dragoons to summon it, himself marching after with the foot. Upon this *Cromwell* resolv'd to attempt the relief of that place, and with twelve troops of horse and dragoons march'd thither, where he found the enemy, who were drawn up near the town, to be more than thrice his number, and no way to attack them, but through a gate and up hill; notwithstanding which disadvantages, he undauntedly fell upon them, and after some dispute, entirely defeated them, killing many of their officers, and among them, lieutenant-general *Cavendish*.

Of

Or this action Cromwell himself gives the following account, in a letter dated July 31. " I march'd after the taking of Burleigh, to Grantbam, and was join'd by the Lincolneers at North Scales, ten miles from Gainsborough. About a mile and a half from the town, we met the forces of the enemy, who drove a troop of our dragoons back to their main body. We advanc'd and came to the bottom of a steep hill, which we could not well get up but by some tracts ; and the body of the enemy endeavour'd to hinder us, but we prevail'd and gain'd the top of it. This was done by the Lincolneers, who had the van-guard. A great body of the enemy's horse faced us there, at about a musket-shot distance, and a good reserve of a full regiment of horse behind it. We did what we could to put our men in good order, and the enemy advanced towards us to prevent it, and take us at a disadvantage ; but in such order as we were, we charged their great body, I having the right wing. We came up horse to horse, where we disputed a pretty while with our swords and pistols, all keeping close order, so that one could not break the other. At last the enemy shrinking a little, our men soon perceiv'd it, pressed in upon them, and routed their whole body, some flying on one side, and others on the other, of the enemy's reserve. Our men pursu'd them with good execution about six miles. I perceiving the reserve still unbroken, kept back my major Whalley from the pursuit, and with my own troop, and two troops more of my regiment, we got into a body. In this reserve was general Cavendish, who one while faced me, another while faced four of the Lincoln troops, which were all of ours that engaged the reserve, the rest being in pursuit of those who fled. General Cavendish charged the Lincolneers and " routed

" routed them. Immediately I fell on his rear with my three troops, which did so astonish him, that he gave over the chase, and would have deliver'd himself from me ; but I pressing on, forced him down a hill, and below it drove the general and some of his soldiers into a quag-mire, where my captain-lieutenant slew him with a thrust under his short ribs. The rest of the body was wholly routed, not one man staying on the place."

HERE Whitelock says, " This was the beginning of his (viz. Cromwell's) great fortunes, and now he began to appear to the world. He had a brave regiment of horse of his countrymen, most of them freeholders, and freeholders sons, who upon matter of conscience engag'd in this quarrel under Cromwell. And thus being well armed within, by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without, by good iron arms, they would as one man, stand firmly, and charge desperately." Cromwell's policy was very much seen in making choice of such men as these, who had a persuasion they were engag'd in the cause of God, to serve under him against the king's party.

Thus was Gainsborough reliev'd ; but the victors had but a short time of rejoicing, for within two or three hours, the routed enemy rallying, and joining with the rest of Newcastle's army, march'd against them ; whereupon they retreated to Lincoln that night in good order, and without any loss, facing the enemy with three troops at a time, whilst they drew off the rest. Lincoln not being defensible, Cromwell march'd the next day to Boston, to join the earl of Manchester, who with his new rais'd forces had very seasonably reduced Lynn under the power of the parliament.

Marches  
to Boston.

1644. To prevent any farther addition to Manchester's forces, the earl of Newcastle advanc'd with his army, and detach'd a strong party of horse and dragoons

goons towards *Boston*, appearing by their Standards, to be eighty seven troops, commanded by Sir John Henderson an old soldier, who understanding that Cromwell was drawn out towards him with the horse and dragoons, made haste to engage him, before the earl of Manchester, with the foot, could march up ; as accordingly it happen'd at a place call'd *Windsby-field*, near *Horn-castle*. In Is in great danger near *Horn-cas-*  
the first shock Cromwell's horse was killed and fell down'd by the gentleman that charged him, sup-  
pos'd to be Sir Ingram Hopton, though others say captain Portington, who afterwards plainly told him, *That he aim'd at his nose when he hit his horse on the head*. He never was in more danger in his life ; but with difficulty he got remounted upon a poor horse in a soldier's hand, and charg'd the enemy with great resolution. The encounter was very sharp, but lasted not an hour before the royalists were entirely routed by Manchester's troops, about 1500 of them being kill'd, amongst whom was the lord Widdrington, Sir Ingram Hopton, and other persons of quality. Very few were killed on the parliament side. The routed forces were pursued by the parliamentarians almost as far as *Lincoln*; in which pursuit several of them were killed and taken prisoners, and many horses and arms taken. In pursuance of this victory, the earl of Manchester marched directly to *Lincoln*, sat down before it, and summon'd it, and afterwards took it by storm, with very inconsiderable loss.

AFTER this, the earl, with his lieutenant-general Cromwell, advanced to re-inforce the siege of *York*, which was then invested by the Scotch general Leven, and the lord Fairfax. Soon after, prince Rupert arriving with about eighteen thousand men, caused the besiegers to raise the siege ; who joining their forces, resolved to watch his motions, and to fight him if they found occasion : But

1644. But a little to refresh themselves, and furnish themselves with provisions which they wanted, they marched towards Tadcaster.

THE prince elevated with success, and not thinking it enough to have relieved the city, if he did not defeat the enemy, contrary to the advice of those that were with him, he march'd after them, and finding them at *Marston-Moor*, forc'd them to a battle; in which the left wing of his army, commanded by himself, charging the parliament's right, so totally routed them, that the three parliament generals, *Leven*, *Fairfax*, and *Manchester* quitted the field, and fled towards *Ca-*  
*wood* castle. Here the prince pursued his enemies too far, which lost him the day. The three generals being thus beaten out of the field, the honour  
Gains the battle of Marston-Moor. of the day fell to *Cromwell*; for the left wing of the parliament's army, commanded by him, engag'd the prince's right, commanded by the earl of *Newcastle*, who had gain'd an advantageous piece of ground upon *Marston-Moor*, and caused a battery to be erected upon it, from which captain *Walton*, *Cromwell*'s sister's son, was wounded by a shot in the knee: Hereupon *Cromwell* order'd two field-pieces to be brought for annoying the enemy, appointing two regiments of foot to guard them; who marching for that end, were set upon by the foot of the prince's right wing, that fir'd thick upon them from the ditches. Upon this both sides secondeing their foot, were wholly engag'd, who before had only stood facing one another. The horse on each side fought with the utmost bravery and courage; for having discharg'd their pistols, and flung them at each others heads, they fell to it with their swords; but after a very obstinate dispute, the victory was obtain'd by *Cromwell*'s brigade, prince *Rupert*'s right wing being totally routed and flying, and the parliament's horse pursuing and killing many of them in their flight.

And

And now the left wing of the prince's army, who had been victors, came back to their former ground, being confident of victory, and utterly ignorant of what had befallen the right; but before they could put themselves into any order, they were charg'd and entirely routed by the reserves of *Cromwell's* brigade. 1644.

OTHER accounts are given of this battle, but all agree in ascribing to *Cromwell* the glory of the action. Some say he was wounded in the right arm at the first charge, and went off to have it dres'd; and returning to his post, found the army in that disorder as is above related. Any other man, says *F. Orleans*, would have run with the stream, and followed such examples, as he need not blush at, to seek his safety by flight. *Cromwell* rather chose to shew what good sense could do, when seconded by valour. He presently perceiv'd that the conquerors were in as much confusion as the conquered, those who pursued observing no more order than those that fled; but that there were some brigades of his army that stood firm, and had not as yet been engaged. He made no scruple to put himself at their head, and charging with these fresh troops, whom his own prowess inspired with new courage, he so vigorously attack'd the enemy, whom victory had made careless of keeping their ranks, that this unexpected turn chang'd the scene at once, and entirely broke them.

Of the king's forces above four thousand were slain, and fifteen hundred taken prisoners; among whom were Sir *Charles Lucas*, major-general *Porter*, major-general *Tilyard*, with about a hundred officers more. All the artillery, great numbers of arms, and a good quantity of ammunition and baggage, fell also into the parliamentarians hands; the prince's own standard, with the arms of the *Palatinate*, was likewise taken, with many others both of horse and foot. Of the parliamentarians not

1644. not above three hundred were slain. This famous battle was fought on the second day of July. Cromwell was greatly cried up for his bravery and conduct, and gain'd the name of *Iron-sides* from the impenetrable strength of his troops, which could by no means be broken or divided. Prince Rupert and his confederates being thus defeated, they quarrel'd among themselves, one reproaching the other for this miscarriage ; whereupon the earl of Newcastle, and others of quality, departed out of the kingdom. The siege of York was now renew'd, which city despairing of fresh succours, was soon surrender'd to the parliament by Sir Thomas Glemham, who had been left sole governor of it.

## C H A P. III.

*From the battle of Marston-Moor to the battle of Naseby.*

CROMWELL began now to be very much taken notice of, some admiring, and others envying his great success, and dreading his aspiring temper and enterprizing genius. The lord Earl of general Essex and the Scotch commissioners were Scotch Commissioners particularly jealous of him, so that they were once in consultation, together with Mr. Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Meyrick, and others, how to get rid of him, and sent to serjeant Maynard and Whitelock about it ; who being come, the earl of Essex told them, that he had sent for them to have their advice and counsel upon a matter of great importance to both kingdoms ; whereupon, at his desire, the chancellor of Scotland spake to them, in the Scotch dialect, as follows :

Chancellor Lowden's speech against him.

Mr. Maynard and Mr. Whitelock, I can assure you of the great opinion, both my brethren and self have of your worth and abilities, else we should not have

have desir'd this meeting with you : And since it is 1644. his excellency's pleasure, that I should acquaint you with the matter upon whilk your counsel is desir'd, I shall obey his command, and briefly recite the business to you.

You ken vary weele, that lieutenant-general Cromwell is no friend of ours ; and since the advance of our army into England, he has used all under-hand and cunning means to tak off from our honour, and merit of this kingdom, an evil requital of our hazards and services ; but so it is, and we are nevertheless fully satisfy'd of the affections and gratitude of the gude people of the nation in general.

It is thought requisite for us, and for carrying on the cause of the twa kingdoms, that this obstacle or remora be removed out of the way, whom we foresee will be no small impediment to us in the gude design we have undertaken.

He not only is no friend to us and the government of our church, but he is also no well-willer to his excellency, whom you and we have all cause to love and honour ; and if he be permitted to go on this way, it may, I fear, endanger the whole business ; therefore we are to advise of some course to be taken for prevention of this mischief.

You ken vary weele the accord betwixt the twa nations, and the union by the Solemn League and Covenant ; and if any be an incendiary between the twa nations, how he is to be proceeded against. Now the matter is, wherein we desire your opinions, what you tak the meaning of the word incendiary to be, and whether the lieutenant-general be not sick an incendiary, as is meant thereby ; and whilk way wud be best to tak to proceed against him, if he be proved sick an incendiary, that we may clepe his wings from soaring to the prejudice of our cause.

Now you may ken, that by our law in Scotland, we clepe him an incendiary wha kindleth coals of contention, and raiseth differences in the state, to the

1644. *the publick damage ; and he is tanquam publicus hostis patriæ. Whether your law be the same or not, you ken best, who are mickle learned therein, and therefore we desire your judgments in these points.*

To this Mr. Whitelock answer'd, "that the sense of the word *incendiary*, was the same here as in *Scotland*; but whether lieutenant-general *Cromwell* be such an *incendiary* must be prov'd, either by his words or actions : That he look'd upon him to be a gentleman of quick and subtle parts, and who had a great interest in both houses of parliament, and that it would be needful to collect such particular passages concerning him, as might be sufficient to prove him an *incendiary*, before they could expect the parliament should proceed against him." Mr. Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, and some others, gave an account of some particular passages and words of *Cromwell's*, and said, that he had not that interest in the parliament as was suppos'd ; and they would willingly have been upon the accusation of him ; but the *Scotch* commissioners were not so ready to join with them in it, and so the lieutenant-general escap'd.

*CROMWELL* was now also very much dreaded by the king's party. His majesty being at *Oxford*, was willing to have the particular advice of that known statesman archbishop *Williams* ; and so wrote to him at *Aberconway* in *Wales* to come to him. The archbishop accordingly waiting on the king, advis'd him by all means to come to an agreement with the parliament ; for since the *Scots* were come into *England* in such numerous armies, and the *English* of the parliament's party, in these two last years, had acquir'd a military knowledge, it would in all appearance be impossible for the king long to resist their forces. But above all, he warned him, to have a care of *Cromwell*, declaring him to be the most dangerous enemy the king had ; and therefore

Archbp.  
*Williams*  
warns  
the king  
of him.

fore humbly moved, that either he would win him over to his side by promises of fair treatment, or catch him by some stratagem, and cut him short. This is said to have made such an impression on the king that he was heard to say, *I would some would do me the good service to bring Cromwell to me alive or dead.*

ABOUT four months after the fight at *Mars-ton-moor*, happen'd the second battle of *Newbury*, where *Cromwell* is said to have endanger'd the king's person, had not the earl of *Cleveland* interpos'd, and bore off the pursuit. This battle was the occasion of an irreconcilable breach between *Cromwell* and the earl of *Manchester*. *Cromwell* accus'd the earl of cowardly betraying the parliament, for that he might very easily have defeated the king's army, when he drew off his cannon, if he would have suffer'd him with his own brigade to have charg'd them in their retreat; but that the earl obstinately oppos'd all advice and importunity, giving no other reason, than *That if he did overthrow the king's army, the king would always have another to keep up the war; but if his army should be overthrown at that nice juncture, they should be all rebels and traitors, and executed and forfeited by the law.* This last expression was heinously taken by the parliament, as if the earl believ'd the law was against them, after they had so often declar'd, that the law was on their side. "The earl acknowledg'd, that he had in effect said, *That they would be treated as traitors if their army was defeated*, when he dislik'd the lieutenant general's advice, in exposing the army to an unseasonable hazard." And then recriminating upon his adversary, said, "that at another time, *Cromwell* freely discoursing with him of the state of the kingdom, and proposing an expedient, the earl answer'd, that the parliament would never approve it; to which *Crom-*

1644. " well immediately reply'd, *My lord, if you will*  
 " *stick firm to honest men, you will find an army at*  
 " *your command, that will give the law to king and*  
 " *parliament :* which discourse, he said, made a  
 " great impression upon him ; and finding him a  
 " man of very deep designs, he was the more  
 " careful to preserve an army, which he believ'd  
 " still faithful to the parliament." These matters  
 were never thoroughly examin'd, tho' the animo-  
 sities encreased, and the parties on both sides o-  
 penly appear'd against each other, to the dividing  
 of the city, as well as of the parliament.

A MIGHTY party in the parliament began now to be dissatisfy'd with their old generals, thinking them too much inclin'd to a peace with the king, and too great favourers of the Presbyterian party. Hereupon they are for having the army new modell'd ; and that their old friends might be the more civilly dismissed from their military posts, they endeavour to procure an ordinance, for incapacitating all members of parliament for such posts. Cromwell was a great promoter of this design, and after some had led the way, made a speech in the house for that purpose, declaring,

His speech in parliament for the self-denying ordinance.

" That there were many things upon which he never reflected before, yet upon re-consideration, he could not but own that all was very true ; and till there was a perfect reformation in those particulars recommended to them, nothing they took in hand would prosper : That the parliament had done wisely in the beginning of the war, to engage many of their members in the most dangerous parts of it, that the nation might see they sign'd not to embark others in perils, whilst themselves sat securely out of gun-shot, but would march with them where the danger most threaten'd ; and those honourable persons, who had thus exposed themselves, had merited so much of their country, that their memories would

" be

" be held in perpetual veneration ; and whatever  
 " should be well done after them, would be impu-  
 " ted to their example. But now God had so  
 " blessed their army, that there had grown up with  
 " it many excellent officers, who were fitter for  
 " much greater charges than they now enjoy'd ;  
 " therefore he desir'd them not to be terrify'd with  
 " an imagination, that they should want able men  
 " to fill the greatest vacancy ; for besides that it  
 " was not good to put so much trust in any arm of  
 " flesh, as to think such a cause as this depended  
 " upon any one man, he assur'd them, that they  
 " had officers in their army, who were fit to be  
 " generals in any enterprize in *Christendom.*" He  
 added, " He thought nothing so necessary as to  
 " vindicate the parliament from partiality towards  
 " their own members ; and proffer'd to lay down  
 " his own commission in the army, and desir'd,  
 " that an ordinance might be prepar'd, to make  
 " it unlawful for any member of either house to  
 " hold any office in the army, or any place in the  
 " state ; " and so concluded with an enlargement  
 upon the vices and corruptions crept into the ar-  
 my, and freely told them, " That till the whole  
 " army were new modell'd, and brought under  
 " stricter discipline, they must not expect any re-  
 " markable success in any undertaking." In con-  
 clusion, a committee was appointed to prepare an  
 ordinance for the exclusion of all members from  
 the fore-mention'd trusts ; which took up much  
 time, and was long debated, but in the end pass'd,  
 and was call'd the *self-denying ordinance.*

SOME time before, Cromwell had orders from the house to march with all speed into the west, to join Sir William Waller ; which he according-  
 ly did, and being join'd they beat up Goring's quarters, who thereupon fled to Exeter. It seems there had been some behaviour in Cromwell's regi-  
 ment, that gave offence to the parliament ; for he

He joins  
Waller,  
and writes  
to the par-  
liament.

1644. now sent a letter to the house, informing them,  
 " That since his coming to his regiment, their carriage had been obedient, respective, and valiant ;  
 " a good testimony whereof they gave in the late defeat of Long's regiment : That they were sorry for their former mutinous carriage, and desir'd him to send their most humble petition to both houses, That they might again be received into their favour, and their former offence fully pardон'd ; promising a valiant testimony of their future service :" Which petition was well accepted by the parliament. After this, he march'd to Cerne in Dorsetshire, where he was join'd by the colonels Holborn and Popham. The enemy coming within three miles of them undiscover'd, Cromwell drew into the field there, with design to fight them, tho' superior to him in number ; which they perceiving, drew off ; and Cromwell was farther reinforced by the regiments of Norton and Cook, &c.

1645. UPON the passing of the self-denying ordinance, the army, which had been much diminish'd by sickness and a late defeat in the west, was ordered to be recruited to one and twenty thousand men, namely, fourteen thousand foot, six thousand horse, and one thousand dragoons ; and Sir Thomas Fairfax was commission'd general. They who were removed from their commands in the army by this ordinance, were the earl of Essex, the earl of Manchester, the earl of Denbigh, the earl of Warwick, Sir William Waller, lord Gray of Groby, major-general Maffy, &c. Cromwell was likewise to have lost his command, and came to Windsor to take leave of the new general ; but such interest had been made in the committee of both kingdoms at Westminster, or they were so sensible of his rare talent for war, that they had sent orders to general Fairfax to detatch a party of horse to lie between Oxford and Worcester, for intercepting the correspondence between the king and prince Rupert, and particularly

ticularly recommended lieutenant-general *Cromwell* 1645. for that service; who went away with a good party of horse and dragoons, and defeated a brigade of the king's horse under the earl of Northampton and Goring, at *Ifflip-bridge*, kill'd several, and took five hundred horse, and two hundred prisoners, whereof several were officers and persons of quality, as also the queen's standard, besides many other trophies of honour.

He pursued the routed remnant to *Bletchington*-  
house, where colonel *Windebank* commanded; who being summon'd by victorious *Cromwell*, and persuaded by his beautiful young bride and the ladies that came to visit her, surrender'd the place, with all the arms and ammunition; for which he was shot to death at *Oxford* by sentence of a council of war.

ABOUT the same time also, *Cromwell* forced Sir William Vaughan and lieutenant-colonel Littleton, with three hundred and fifty men, into *Bampton-Bush*, where he took them both, and two hundred of their men prisoners, with their arms, and sent colonel *Fiennes* after another party, who took a hundred and fifty horse, three colonels, and forty common soldiers prisoners, with their arms. Being afterwards re-inforc'd by about five hundred foot from colonel *Brown*'s garrison at *Abington*, *Cromwell* attempted the reducing of *Faringdon*-  
house, and storm'd it; but it was so gallantly defended by Sir George Lisle, that he was forc'd to draw off, having lost fifty of his men; and in his retreat he was attack'd by a party of lieutenant Goring's horse, lately come from the siege of *Taunton*, who got from him three colours, and took major *Bethel* prisoner.

IT was now order'd by both houses, that lieutenant-general *Cromwell* should be dispens'd with for his personal attendance in the house, and continue his service and command in the army, for

1645. forty days longer, notwithstanding the late ordinance. This, says *Whitelock*, was much spoken against by *Essex's* party, as a breach of that ordinance, and a discovery of the intention to continue whom they pleas'd, and to remove the others from commands, notwithstanding their former *self-denying pretences*.

Is join'd  
by Fair-  
fax.

THE lord-general *Fairfax* began his march in order to relieve *Taunton*. But the committee of both kingdoms, understanding that prince *Rupert* was advancing towards *Oxford*, order'd him to stop his march, and to send only a party of about three thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse to *Taunton*, whilst he, with the rest of his army, march'd back to join *Cromwell* and *Brown*, that they might attend the king's motions with their united forces. The king being join'd by prince *Rupert*, march'd into *Worcestershire*, and design'd to relieve *Chester*, which had been a great while besieg'd by the parliament's forces under Sir *William Brereton*; who, when the king was come within twenty miles of *Chester*, rais'd the siege, and return'd into *Lancashire*. Upon this, the king diverted his course towards *Leicester*, and coming before the place, took it by storm.

IN the mean time the lords and commons agreed with the committee of both kingdoms, that general *Fairfax* should invest *Oxford*, that important head-quarter of the king. Accordingly the general brought up his army near *Oxford*, and laid siege to it, having his own quarters at *Marston*, *Cromwell* at *Wileham*, and *Brown* at *Wolvercote*. After fifteen days spent without action, the parliament being startled at the loss of *Leicester*, sent express orders to *Fairfax* to march away with his army; which he accordingly did on the ninth of June.

THE king was marching from *Leicester* with design to relieve *Oxford*; but hearing the siege was rais'd, he returned towards *Northampton*, causing great

1645.

great terror to the associated parts. *Cromwell*, before the breaking up of the siege, had been called from thence to the isle of *Ely*, to support the association, and was shortly to attend his place in parliament, according to the late ordinance: But upon a resolution of the council of war, the general wrote to them, desiring them to dispense with *Cromwell's* absence from the house, and to appoint him lieutenant-general of the horse. The parliament being sensible of his great usefulness in the field, readily comply'd with this request, and accordingly commission'd him lieutenant-general of horse to the whole army. Hereupon *Cromwell* being recruited with six hundred horse and dragoons, came out of the associated parts, and join'd with *Fairfax* and his main army at *Gilsborough*. *Whitelock* says, he now began to increase in the favour of the people, and of the army, and to grow great, even to the envy of many.

Is made  
lieute-  
nant-ge-  
neral of  
the horse,  
notwith-  
standing  
the self-de-  
nying or-  
dinance.

THE king having tarried a little at *Borough-Hill*, drew off from thence towards *Harborough*, and design'd to march to *Pomfret*, thinking if he were follow'd by the parliament's forces, he should fight with greater advantage northward. But *Ireton*, by *Cromwell's* advice, being sent out with a flying party of horse, fell upon a party of the king's rear, quarter'd in *Naseby* town, and took many prisoners, some of prince *Rupert's* life-guard, and *Langdale's* brigade; which gave such an alarm to the whole royal army, that the king at mid-night left his own quarters, and for security hasten'd to *Harborough*, where the van of his army lay. Here calling up prince *Rupert*, he summon'd a council of war, in which it was resolv'd (chiefly through the prince's eagerness, old commanders being much against it) to give the enemy battle; and since *Fairfax* had been so forward, they would no longer stay for him, but seek him out. Accordingly being come near *Naseby*, there they found him;

1645. and both armies being drawn up in battalia, fac'd each other. Prince *Rupert* and prince *Maurice* commanded the right wing of the royal army, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* the left, and the king himself the main body; the earl of *Lindsey* and Jacob lord *Astley*, the right hand reserve, and the lord *Bard* and Sir *George Lisle*, the left reserve. The right wing of the parliament's army was led by lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, the left by colonel *Ireton*, the main body by general *Fairfax* and major-general *Skippon*, who fought stoutly, tho' sorely wounded in the beginning of the fight; and the reserves were brought up by *Rainsborough*, *Hammond*, and *Pride*. The place of action was a large fallow field, on the north-west side of *Naseby*, above a mile broad; which space of ground was wholly taken up by the two armies.

The bat-  
tle of  
*Naseby*.

ALL things being dispos'd, on June 14, at ten in the morning, the battle began with more than civil rage; the royalists word being *God and queen Mary*, and the others, *God with us*. Prince *Rupert* gave the first charge, and engag'd the parliament's left wing with great resolution. *Ireton* made gallant resistance, but was forced at last to give ground, his horse being shot under him, and himself run through the thigh with a pike, and into the face with a halbert, and taken prisoner, till upon the turn of the battle he regain'd his liberty. The prince chas'd the enemy almost to *Naseby* town, and in his return summon'd the train, and visited the carriages, where was good plunder; but here, as in the battle of *Marston-Moor*, his long stay so far from the main body was no small prejudice to the king's army.

And his  
success  
there.

FOR *Cromwell* in the mean time charg'd furiously on the king's left wing, and that with good success, forcing them from the body, and prosecuting the advantage, quite broke them, and their reserve: After which, joining with *Fairfax*, he charg'd

1645.

charg'd the king's foot, who had beaten the parliament's, and got possession of their ordnance, and thought themselves sure of the victory ; but being now in confusion, and having no horse to support them, they were easily overborn by *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*. By this time the king was joined by prince *Rupert*, return'd from his fatal success ; but the horse could never be brought to rally themselves again in order, or to charge the enemy : Upon which the lord *Clarendon* says, That this difference Good dif-  
was observ'd all along in the discipline of the king's cipline of  
troops, and of those under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, the troops  
(it having never been remarkable under *Essex* or under him  
*Waller*, but only under them) That though the fax.  
king's troops prevail'd in the charge, and routed those they charg'd, they seldom rally'd themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second charge again the same day ; which was the reason that they had not an entire victory at *Edge-Hill* ; whereas the troops under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, if they prevail'd, or tho' they were beaten and routed, presently rally'd again, and stood in good order, till they received further directions. In fine, with all that the king and prince could do, they could not rally their broken troops, which stood in sufficient numbers upon the place ; so that they were forced at last to quit the field, leaving a compleat victory to the parliament's party, who pursued them within two miles of *Leicester* ; and the king finding the pursuit so hot, fled from thence to *Ashby-de-la-zouch*, and then to *Lichfield*, and so for a safer retreat into *Wales*.

THUS ended the famous battle of *Naseby*, in Victory at which the wonderful succes of the parliament par- *Naseby*  
ty was chiefly owing to *Cromwell*'s valour and good conduct, who flew like lightning from one part of owing to  
the army to the other, and broke thro' the enemy's squadrons with such rapidity, that nothing either could or durst stop him. 'Tis said, that in this

1645. this action, a commander of the king's knowing Cromwell, advanc'd briskly from the head of his troops, to exchange a single bullet with him, and was with equal bravery encounter'd by him, both sides forbearing to come in, till their pistols being discharg'd, the cavalier with a flaunting back blow of a broad sword, chanc'd to cut the ribbon that tied Cromwell's murrion, and with a draw threw it off his head ; and now just going to repeat his stroak, Cromwell's party came in and rescu'd him ; and one of them alighting, threw up his head-piece into his saddle, which he hastily catching, clapt it on the wrong way, and so bravely fought with it the rest of the day, which proved so very fortunate on his side.

The king's cabinet with his letters and papers taken.

THE king's loss in this battle was irreparable ; for besides that there were slain above a hundred and fifty officers, and gentlemen of quality, most of his foot were taken prisoners, with all his cannon and baggage, eight thousand arms and other rich booty ; among which was also his majesty's own cabinet, where were reposited his most secret papers, and letters between him and his queen, which shew'd how contrary his counsels with her were to those he declared to the kingdom ; for in one of them he declares his intention, *to make peace with the Irish, and to have forty thousand of them over into England to prosecute the war here* ; and in another he complains, *That he could not prevail on his mungrel parliament at Oxford, to vote that the two houses at Westminster were not a lawful parliament* ; so little thanks, as one observes who was no enemy to his majesty, had these noble lords and gentlemen, for exposing their lives and fortunes in defence of the king in his adversity ; what then might they expect, if he should prevail by conquest ? In those letters also he tells the queen, *That he would not make a peace with the rebels [the parliament] without her approbation, nor go one jot from*

Coke.

1645.

from the paper she sent him: That in the treaty at Uxbridge, he did not positively own the parliament, it being otherwise to be construed, tho' they were so simple as not to find it out; and that it was recorded in the notes of the king's council, That he did not acknowledge them a parliament. These and many other papers relating to the publick, were printed with observations, and kept upon record, by order of the two houses, who also made a publick declaration of them, shewing what the nobility and gentry, who follow'd the king, were to expect.

## C H A P. IV.

*From the battle of Naseby to the conclusion of  
the first civil war.*

THE battle of *Naseby* was truly a deciding battle; for from this grand period, the king's affairs became desperate, and his whole party began to moulder away, and most sensibly to decline every where. The parliament's army had no sooner gain'd this wonderful advantage, but like a torrent they soon overflow'd the whole kingdom, bearing down all before them. *Leicester* was immediately regain'd without any considerable opposition. From thence they march'd to the relief of *Taunton*, which being besieg'd by *Goring*'s army, had made a wonderful resistance under the command of the valiant *Blake*. Upon the approach of the parliament's forces, *Goring* drew off his army towards *Langport*; and being master of the several passes on the river, hoped to have declin'd fighting, and secured his retreat towards *Bridgewater*: But the others drew down their ordnance with such advantage, that whilst they did great execution on *Goring*'s army, their foot resolutely gain'd the pass, and the horse advanc'd over; when they so bravely engag'd the enemy, that they soon put them

1645. them to flight, charging them almost to Bridge-water. Cromwell in this action shewed much prudence as well as courage ; for he would not suffer part of the horse to pursue the enemy, till they were all come up together ; and then himself leading them on, perform'd the work with such success, that he took almost all their foot and ordnance.

*Cromwell's conduct in the battle of Langport.*

*Bridge-water taken.* AFTER this victory, 'twas resolved, in a council of war, to storm the strong garrison of Bridge-water. Accordingly they began the assault on the 22d of July, and forc'd a surrender the very next day. The taking of this place was a very great advantage to the parliament ; for thereby a line of garrisons was drawn over the country from the Severn to the south coasts, by Bridgewater, Taunton, Lime and Langport ; whereby the counties of Devon and Cornwall, then wholly at the king's devotion, except Plymouth, were in a manner blocked up from all intercourse with the eastern parts.

*Cromwell suppresses the club-men.* THE merciless rapines and violence practised by the royalists in the western parts had occasioned the rising of a third kind of army, which suddenly starting up in divers counties, assembled to the number of five or six thousand of the middle sort of men.

These soon had the name of Club-Men, and were encouraged by several gentlemen of the country, who entertained particular hopes from this insurrection. The motto of their colours was,

*If you offer to plunder or take our cattle,  
Be assur'd we will bid you battle.*

This army of Club-Men for some time became very formidable to both parties, each of them endeavouring to gain them over to themselves. But having for some months stood upon their own defence, and molested both armies, they were at last very seasonably suppress'd and dispers'd by the parliament forces under

under lieutenant-general *Cromwell*; who, together with *Fairfax*, daily gain'd ground in those parts. 1645.

*BRISTOL* was a place of very great importance, which prince *Rupert*, with about five thousand horse and foot, held for the king. It was now therefore thought requisite to besiege it for the parliament, and accordingly the army was drawn up towards it. The general being come before it, summon'd prince *Rupert* to deliver up the town; but upon his refusal, it was advis'd by *Cromwell* and some other chief officers to storm part of it: Which accordingly was executed with so much fury, that the prince thought not fit to run the hazard of a second assault, but immediately surrendered that great and well fortify'd city to the parliament general; whereby the king lost all his chief magazines and warlike provisions, and consequently in a short time *South-Wales* and all the west of *England*. Upon this his majesty wrote a sharp letter to prince *Rupert*, in which he says, *I must remember you of yours of the 12th of August, whereby you assured me, That if no mutiny happened, you would keep Bristol for four months; Did you keep it four days? Was there any thing like a mutiny? My conclusion is, to desire you to seek your subsistence, until it shall please God to determine of my condition, some where beyond seas; to which end I send you herewith a pass, &c.*

*FAIRFAX* and *Cromwell* sent letters to the parliament, relating the particulars of the siege of *Bristol*, and in *Cromwell's* there was this passage: *It may be thought that some praises are due to those gallant men, of whose valour so much mention is made: Their humble suit to you, and all that have an interest in this blessing, is, that in remembrance of God's praises, they may be forgotten. It's their joy that they are instruments to God's glory, and their country's good: It's their honour that God vouchsafes to use them. Sir, they that have been employed in this*

1645. *this service, know, That faith and prayers obtained  
this city for you.*

*BRISTOL* being thus reduc'd, *Cromwell* presently takes with him a brigade of four regiments, and marches to the strong castle of the *Devizes*, whose natural strength was much improv'd by the ingenuity of its governour, Sir *Charles Lloyd*, who looking upon it to be almost impregnable, return'd no other answer to *Cromwell's* first summons, but *Win it and wear it*. But as if nothing could be a sufficient defence against this victorious commander, whose very name began now to strike terror to his enemies, the governour was soon brought to terms, and forc'd to deliver up the place to him.

Takes the  
castle of  
the Devi-  
zes.

Reduces  
*Winches-  
ter*.

AFTER this, *Cromwell* hastens to *Winchester*, and in his march disarms and disperses the *Hampshire* club-men thereabouts. Being come before the town, he found it fortify'd; but after a short dispute, he fir'd the gate, and his men enter'd. This done, he summon'd the castle; which not surrendering, he planted six guns, and after firing them round, sent a second summons for a treaty, which they also refus'd. Upon this, he made a breach with two hundred shot, and then the governour, the lord *Ogle*, thought fit to beat a parley, which was granted; and colonel *Hammond* and major *Harrison* for *Cromwell*, agreed upon articles for delivering up the castle into the hands of the parliament. Here an instance is given of *Cromwell's* faithfulness in his punctual observance of articles; for 'tis said, that being inform'd, that some of his men had been faulty in this respect, he caus'd one of them to be hang'd to the terror of others, and sent the rest to *Oxford*, that the governour Sir *Thomas Glemham* might punish them as he thought fit; who is said with generous acknowledgments to return them to *Cromwell* again.

Storms  
and takes  
*Basing-  
house*.

HIS next attempt was upon *Basing-house*, a very strong place. It was the mansion of the marquis of *Winchester*,

1645.

Winchester, a *Papist*, standing on a rising ground, and encompass'd with a brick rampart lined with earth, having a deep dry ditch surrounding it. Here the marquis stood upon his guard, assisted at first only with his own family and a hundred musqueteers from *Oxford*; but recruited afterwards by the king from time to time, as there was occasion. This garrison had been often assaulted, but in vain; first by colonel *Norton* and colonel *Harvey*; next, by Sir *William Waller* with seven thousand horse and foot; who, though many then called him *William the Conqueror*, did little more than increase the courage of the besieged, who made many furious sallies upon him. Thus the place stood for some years out-braving all attempts, till the valiant *Cromwell* endeavour'd the reducing of it, which he very soon effected; for having seen the lord *Ogle*, the late governour of *Winchester*, march out according to articles, and settled the affairs of that garrison for the parliament, he the next day march'd for *Basing*; where being arriv'd, after planting the batteries, and settling the several posts for a storm, his men fell on with great resolution. Colonel *Pickering* storm'd the new house, and passing through, got the gate of the old house; whereupon they beat a parley, which the parliament soldiers would not regard. In the mean time, colonel *Montague's* and Sir *Hardress Waller's* regiments recover'd the strongest work, and beat the enemy from a whole culverin. Then they drew their ladders after them, and got over another work, and the house-wall, before they could enter. Thus was the place reduc'd with very little losf on the parliament's side. Seventy-four of the royalists were slain, among whom were some officers of quality, divers of them *Papists*. Two hundred were taken prisoners, among whom was the marquis himself, Sir *Robert Peak*, and several other officers, whom *Cromwell* sent up to the parliament. They took about

1645. about ten pieces of ordnance, with a good quantity of ammunition and provisions, and there was rich pillage for the soldiers, of money, jewels, household-stuff, &c. For these important services, the house order'd a letter of thanks to be drawn up to the lieutenant-general.

Gains  
Langford-  
house.

THE next place *Cromwell* visited, was *Langford-house* near *Salisbury*; but Sir *Bartholomew Pell* having had information of what he had done at *Basing*, and expecting no better success, submitted at the first summons.

Marches  
towards  
*Exeter*.

FROM hence he march'd towards the main body of the army, which was then moving towards *Exeter*, with a design to lay siege to it: Where being arriv'd, he advanc'd farther westward towards the enemy, and at *Bovy-Tracy* fought the brigade commanded by the lord *Wentworth*, taking four hundred horse, and about a hundred foot, prisoners, with six standards, one of which was the king's.

Dart-  
mouth ta-  
ken by  
storm;  
and the  
lord Hop-  
ton defeat-  
ed.

THE design upon *Exeter* being for the present laid aside, the army under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* appear'd before *Dartmouth*, and took it by storm; which being done, they encounter'd the lord *Hopton* at *Torrington*, and gave him an absolute defeat; and then pursu'd the only remains of a royal army into *Cornwall*, where prince *Charles* had his own regiment, and other *Cornish* troops, which compos'd a body of about five thousand horse, and one thousand foot: But not able to resist the multitudes that the parliamentarians were pouring upon him, he imbarked with several lords and gentlemen, and found refuge in the isle of *Scilly*. His troops were left under the command of the lord *Hopton*, who was so press'd upon by the parliament's forces, that he was obliged to disband on the 14th of *March*; soon after which *Exeter* was surrender'd to the parliament. And now lieutenant-general *Cromwell* came up to *London* from the general, to advise about the future motion of the army; and taking

taking his place in the parliament, receiv'd the hearty thanks of the house for his great and faithful services. 1645.

*FAIRFAX* and *Cromwell* having thus scoured the west, and only *Newark* remaining in the north, the king's affairs were now in a very low and desperate condition. The royalists in *Oxford* had indeed still some little hopes from a party commanded by the lord *Astley*, which were the only forces in the field for the king; but these hopes soon vanish'd; for being encountered by colonel *Morgan* near *Stow on the Wold*, he was entirely defeated, himself and almost all his men being taken prisoners. *Astley* was so sensible of the consequence of this defeat, that when he was taken, he said to one of the parliament-officers, *You have now done your work and may go to play, unless you will fall out among yourselves.*

Lord *Astley* routed  
and taken  
prisoner.

THE parliament army, flush'd with irresistible success, was now marching to besiege *Oxford*, the king's head quarters and place of his residence; who in this extremity resolv'd to throw himself into the hands of the *Scotch* army, then lying before *Newark*. He was advised to do this by Monsieur *Montreuil*, the *French* ambassador, who was then in the *Scotch* quarters; and the rather encourag'd to it, because the animosities between the *English* parliament and the *Scots*, were now grown very high, the latter complaining against the former, for their delays in settling the *Presbyterian* government of the church according to the *Covenant*; and for with-holding their pay. In pursuance of this King resolution, before the siege of *Oxford* could be formed, the king escaped from thence on the 27th of April. He went away in disguise, accompany'd only by Dr. *Hudson*, and Mr. *Ashburnham*, and riding as a servant to the latter, with a cloak-bag behind him. They went to *Henly*, *Brentford*, and *Harrow-on-the-Hill*; thence towards *St. Albans*,

1646.

capes from  
*Oxford* to  
the *Scotch*  
army.

1646. making their way to *Harborough*, where they expected Monsieur *Montrevil*; who not being there as he had appointed, the king went to *Stamford*, thence to *Downham*, and so to *Southam*; where finding the *French* agent, he sent to general *Leven*, and was conducted by a troop of horse to lieutenant-general *Lefly's* quarters. *Oxford* being close block'd up, surrender'd on the 22d of June, and the few remaining garrisons soon after, viz. *Worcester*, *Wallingford*, *Pendennis-castle*, and *Ragland-castle*. The parliament being informed of the king's escape from *Oxford*, and arrival in the *Scotch* army, were very much startled at it, and sent an order to their commissioners to demand him of them; requiring also their army to advance, in order to hinder a conjunction of the king's party with the *Scots*, being very jealous of his making terms with them: But upon their surrendering *Newark* to the *English*, which the king had order'd to be deliver'd up to them, and general *Leven's* forbidding his forces to have any communication with the king's party, they began to be pretty well satisfy'd for the present; and so the *Scots*, having got the king in their possession, march'd with him to *Newcastle*, where he receiv'd the parliament's propositions for peace; which he not agreeing to, they consult how to take him out of the hands of the *Scots*, to send them out of *England*, and to bring him up into safer custody. In order to this, they thought it necessary to reckon with the *Scots*, who offer'd to accept of a sum in gross, for full discharge of their arrears, to be agreed on by commissioners. These concluded on four hundred thousand pounds, one Moiety of which to be paid before their going home, and the other within stated terms. The delivering up of the king was a tacit condition of this agreement; and accordingly, the *Scots* having received two hundred thousand pounds, which was sent down to *Holmby* to them, deliver'd the king, after he had been with them

*Oxford*  
and all o-  
ther places  
submit to  
the parlia-  
ment.

King deli-  
ver'd up to  
the king was a tacit condition of this agreement;  
the *English* and accordingly, the *Scots* having received two  
and brought hundred thousand pounds, which was sent down  
to *Holmby* to them, deliver'd the king, after he had been with  
them

1646.

them about nine months, into the hands of the parliament's commissioners, who conducted him to Holmby-house in Northamptonshire. Upon this Mr. Coke has these reflexions: " Thus this prince, who before had shifted the worthy members of parliament from one prison to another, that they might have no benefit of their *Habeas-Corpus*, is himself shifted a prisoner from one place to another, without any hope of an *Habeas-Corpus*: He that before, by his absolute will and pleasure, would without any law seize his subjects goods, and commit them to prison, cannot now enjoy his own estate in his own house: He that before arbitrarily rais'd ship-money, has not now one ship to command."

## C H A P. V.

*From the conclusion of the first and long civil war, to the king's seizure at Holmby by the army.*

THE king's party being subdu'd by the parliament, who had also got him into their hands, and the Scots having quietly left the kingdom, and so the long civil war between the king and the parliament, which had been maintain'd at the expence of so much blood and treasure, being entirely ended, the victors began now to quarrel amongst themselves; and the differences and dissensions in the parliament and army, and chiefly between those two bodies, the civil and military powers, occasion'd a great deal of uneasiness and trouble to the nation. The foundation of all this, as Ludlow tells us, were the high contests between the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* parties, the one not enduring any superior, nor the other any equal. The *Presbyterians*, says he, grasp'd at the whole power, proceeding with equal bitterness against all other sects,

1646. as against the episcopal party; and finding themselves superior in both houses, little doubted of being able to reform the army, and new-model it again; which, without doubt, they would have attempted, had not the death of the earl of *Essex*, who deceas'd about this time, prevented them. This party prevail'd very much in the city, so that an address was presented to the parliament from the mayor and common-council, wherein after acknowledging the care of the two houses in the reformation of the church, &c. they desir'd, that such assemblies as were privately held to introduce new sects, might be suppress'd, and that those who were distinguish'd by the name of *Independents*, might be remov'd from all employments civil and military. *Ludlow* farther tells us, the party in the house that were for betraying the cause of their country, became encouragers of such petitioners as came to them from the city of London, and other places, for a speedy peace, and to suppress sectaries: The army, both officers and soldiers, were complain'd against, as holding erroneous and schismatical doctrines; and for taking upon them to preach and expound the scripture, not being learned nor ordained. And as *Cromwell* espous'd the *Independent* party, the parliament was particularly jealous of him, and was for taking measures to dismiss him, and his chief partizans, from their military posts. *Cromwell* was no less jealous of them, and being aware of what they design'd, resolv'd to be even with them. *Ludlow* tells us, that as he was walking with him one morning in Sir *Robert Cotton's* garden, he inveigh'd bitterly against the parliament, and said familiarly to him, If thy father were alive, he would let some of them bear what they deserve; adding further, That it was a miserable thing to serve a parliament, to whom let a man be never so faithful, if one pragmatical fellow amongst them rise up and perse him, he shall never wipe it off; whereas,

The parliament jealous of *Cromwell*, and he of them.

His discourse with *Ludlow* there-upon.

*one serves under a general, he may do as much service, and yet be free from all blame and envy.* 1646.

ACCORDINGLY from this time Cromwell, to secure himself, and prevent the designs of the *Presbyterians*, made a strong party for military power, for which he had now a fair opportunity offer'd him: For the *Presbyterian* party in parliament, knowing that the army was mostly inclin'd to the *Independents*, were earnestly desirous to break it; and the better to facilitate this design, under the pretence of lessening their great charge, they resolv'd on the disbanding of some troops, and transporting others for the service of *Ireland*. 1647. *Cromwell* He pro-  
having timely notice of this resolution, he, together with *Ireton*, insinuated to the soldiers, that the par-<sup>army's</sup> liament intended to disband them without paying <sup>jealousy of</sup> them their arrears, or else to send them into *Ireland* <sup>the par-</sup>liament, to die of sickness and famine. Upon this, the soldiers broke out into reviling language against the parliament; and when the orders for disbanding some, and transporting others, as before-mention'd, were sent down to them, they refus'd to comply with them. The parliament being inform'd of it, were very much offended at this behaviour of the army; but the prudence and moderation of major-general *Skippon*, in reporting the matter to the house, much abated the heat of their resentment; though several threatening expresions came from some of them; which occasion'd *Cromwell*, then in the house, to whisper *Ludlow* in the ear, saying, *These men will never leave, till the army pull them out by the ears.*

THIS spirit of opposition being rais'd in the army, they began now more professedly to enter into competition with the parliament, and to claim a share with them in settling the kingdom; and that they might be upon a nearer level with them, they made choice of a number of such officers as they approv'd, which was called the general's council of Agitators and coun-  
cil of offi-  
cers set up  
by the army.

1647. officers, and was to resemble the house of peers ; and three or four out of each regiment, most corporals or serjeants, were chosen by the common soldiers, and call'd *Agitators*, who were to answer to the house of commons. These two bodies met severally, and examin'd all the acts and orders of the parliament towards settling the kingdom, and reforming, dividing, or disbanding the army ; and, after some consultations, they unanimously resolved

Their re- and declared, " That they would not be divided or solutions. " disbanded, till their full arrears were paid, and " till full provision was made for liberty of con- " science ; which they said was the ground of the " quarrel, tho' hitherto there was so little security " provided in that point, that there was now a " greater persecution against religious and godly " men, than ever had been in the king's govern- " ment, when the bishops were their judges."

They added, " That they did not look upon them- " selves as a band of *Fanizaries*, hired and enter- " tain'd only to fight their battles ; but that they " had voluntarily taken up arms for the liberty and " defence of the nation, of which they were a part ; " and before they laid down those arms, they would " see all those ends well provided for, that the peo- " ple might not hereafter suffer those grievances, " with which they had formerly been oppress'd."

THREE or four of their own members being sent to the house of commons with this declaration, they with great confidence delivered it at the bar. And soon after, the soldiers drew up a vindication of their proceedings, directing it to their general ; wherein they complained of a design to disband, and new-model the army ; " Which they said, was " a plot contrived by some men, who had lately " tasted of sovereignty, and being rais'd above the " ordinary sphere of servants, would fain become " masters, and were degenerated into tyrants." For which reason they declared, " That they would " neither

“ neither be employed for the service of *Ireland*, 1647.  
 “ nor suffer themselves to be disbanded, till their  
 “ desires were obtained, and the subjects rights and  
 “ liberties should be vindicated and secur’d.” This  
 paper being sign’d by many inferior officers, the  
 parliament declar’d them enemies to the state, im-  
 prisoning some of them who talk’d loudest: Where-  
 upon they drew up another address to their general,  
 complaining, “ How disdainfully they were us’d  
 “ by the parliament, for whom they had ventur’d  
 “ their lives, and spilt their blood; that the pri-  
 “ vileges due to them as soldiers, and as subjects,  
 “ were taken from them; and when they com-  
 “ plained of the injuries done to them, they were  
 “ abus’d, beaten, and imprison’d.”

UPON this *Fairfax* (who was indeed a *Presbyterian*, but was only general in name, *Cromwell* hav- general in fact, *Fairfax* only in name. ing got the ascendant over him, and having the sole influence upon the army, which he manag’d as he pleas’d) was prevail’d upon to write a letter to a member of parliament, who read it to the house; wherein he took notice of several petitions, which were prepar’d in the city of *London*, and other places against the army; adding, “ That it was look’d upon as strange, that the officers of the army might not be permitted to petition, when so many petitions were receiv’d against them; and that he much doubted, that the army might draw to a rendezvous, and think of taking some other course for their own vindication.”

THE parliament was exceedingly troubled at these proceedings of the army. However, they resolv’d not to submit to, or be govern’d by those who were their servants, and liv’d upon their pay: And therefore, after many severe expressions against the presumption of several officers and soldiers, they declar’d, “ That whosoever should refuse, being commanded, to engage in the service of *Ireland*, should be disbanded.” But the army would

1647.

Declaration of the parliament against the army, afterwards ras'd out of their journal-book.

A committee of the parliament sent to treat with a committee of the army.

Cromwell's management with the parliament.

by no means recede from the resolutions they had taken, and falling into a direct and high mutiny, call'd for the arrears due to them, *which they knew where, and how to levy for themselves*; nor would they be at all pacify'd, till the declaration of the parliament against them was rased out of their journal-book, and a month's pay sent to them: Nor did this satisfy them, but they still gave out, "That they knew how to make themselves as considerable as the parliament, and where to have their service better esteem'd and requited." This so startled the parliament, that they sent a committee of the lords and commons, some whereof were not at all ungrateful to the army, to treat with a committee of officers, upon the best means to be used, for composing these differences. By which method of proceeding the army seemed to be put upon a level with the parliament; and this also dispos'd general *Fairfax* to a greater concurrence with the humour of the army, when he saw it was so much comply'd with, and submitted to by all men.

*CROMWELL* hitherto thought it necessary to keep himself as fair with the parliament as possible; for which purpose, having a rare knack at dissimulation, he would seem highly displeas'd with the insolence of the soldiers, and being still in the house of commons, when any of their addresses were presented, inveigh'd bitterly against their presumption. He also propos'd, "That the general might be sent down to the army; who, he said, would soon conjure down this mutinous spirit: And he was so easily believ'd, that he himself was once or twice sent to reduce them to order; and having staid two or three days with them, he would again return to the parliament, and make heavy complaints " of the " great license that was got into the army; that, for " his own part, by the artifice of his enemies, and " of those who desir'd that the nation should be again imbru'd in blood, he was render'd so odious

" to

" to them, that they had design'd to kill him, if he  
" had not timely escap'd out of their hands." But 1647.  
notwithstanding this, he was greatly suspected by  
many, of having under-hand encourag'd the army's  
proceedings; and the most active officers and agi-  
tators were believ'd to be his own creatures, who  
would do nothing without his direction: So that it Their de-  
was privately resolv'd by the chief members of the sign of sei-  
house of commons, that when he came the next day zing him.  
into the house, which he seldom fail'd to do, they  
would send him to the Tower.

THIS design could not be manag'd so secretly,  
but *Cromwell* got intelligence of it; and so when  
the house the next day expected every minute to see which he  
him come in, they had notice given them, that he escapes.  
was met out of the town by break of day, with only  
one servant, making what haste he could towards  
the army, where he had order'd a rendezvous of  
some regiments of the horse, and from whence he  
sent a letter to the house of commons, to acquaint  
them, " That having the night before receiv'd a His letter  
letter from some officers of his own regiment, to the par-  
" That the jealousy the troops had conceiv'd of liament.  
" him, and of his want of kindness towards them,  
" was much abated, so that they believed, if he  
" would forthwith come down to them, they would  
" all by his advice be soon reclaim'd; upon this he  
" had made all the haste he could, and did find,  
" that the soldiers had been abus'd by misinforma-  
" tion; and that he hop'd to discover the fountain  
" from whence it sprung; and in the mean time  
" desired, that the general, and the other officers  
" of the horse, or such as remain'd about the town,  
" might be immediately sent to their quarters; and  
" he believed it would be very requisite, in order  
" to the suppression of the late distempers, and for  
" the prevention of the like for the future, to have  
" a general rendezvous of the army, of which the  
" general

1647. " general would best consider, when he came  
 down ; which he wish'd might be hasten'd."

*Sir Har-  
botle  
Grimston's  
story con-  
cerning  
him.*

THIS account of *Cromwell's* management with the parliament, leads me to insert here what Sir *Harbotle Grimston* related to bishop *Burnet*, concerning him, as we have it in the first volume of the bishop's history, p. 45. During the contests between the army and the parliament (for we cannot exactly assign the time when this happen'd) two officers brought an account to *Grimston*, that at a meeting of the officers, it being proposed to purge the army better, that they might know whom to confide in ; *Cromwell* thereupon said, he was sure of the army, but there was another body that wanted more to be purg'd, namely the house of commons, and he believed the army only could do that. *Grimston* brought the officers to the lobby of the house, where they were resolved to justify what they had said ; and the commons having then something in debate, he diverted it, saying, he had a matter of privilege of the highest nature to lay before them, which concern'd the being and freedom of the house ; and then he accused *Cromwell* of a design to put a force upon them, and having his witnesses at the door, requested they might be examin'd. Accordingly they were brought to the bar, and justify'd all they had related to him, and gave a full account of what had pass'd at the meetings of the officers ; which done, they withdrew ; when *Cromwell* falling down on his knees, made a solemn prayer to God, attesting his innocence, and his zeal for the interest of the house. This he did with great vehemence and many tears, and then made so long a speech in his own vindication, that he tired the house, and wrought so much on his party, that what the officers said, was so little credited, that if it had been moved, Sir *Harbotle* believed, that both he and they had been sent to the Tower. *Cromwell* however no sooner got out of the house, but resolving to trust himself

1647.

himself no more with them, he hastened to the army ; and a few days after he brought them up, and forc'd a great many from the house. 'Twas his opinion, it seems, as the bishop observes, with many in those times, that in great occasions, when some were called to extraordinary services, they were excused from the common rules of morality ; which they thought was the case of the judges among the *Israelites*.

ANOTHER story related by Mr. *Locke*, in his *Memoirs relating to the life of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper*, first earl of *Shaftsbury*, may be likewise proper to be here inserted. He tells us, it happen'd one morning that Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* calling upon Mr. *Hollis* (*viz.* after their reconciliation, which he also relates) in his way to the house, he found him in a great heat against *Cromwell*, saying, he was resolved to bring him to punishment. Sir *A. A.* shew'd him how dangerous such an attempt might be, earnestly dissuaded him from it, and told him it would be enough to get rid of him, by sending him with a command into *Ireland*, which, as things stood, he would be glad to accept. But this would not satisfy *Hollis* ; and so when he came to the house, he brought the matter to a debate, and it was moved, that *Cromwell*, and those guilty with him, should be punished. *Cromwell* being then in the house, no sooner heard this, but he stole out, took horse, and posted to the army (which my author says, as he remembers, was at *Triploe-Heath*) where he informed them of what the Presbyterian party was doing in the house, and made such use of it to them, that they now united together under him, who forthwith led them away to *London*, giving out menaces against *Hollis* and his party, who, with *Stapleton* and some others, were fain to fly ; and thereby the Independent party becoming the stronger, they, as they call'd it, purged the house, and turn'd

1647. turn'd out the Presbyterians. Soon after, Cromwell meeting Sir A. A. told him, *I am beholden to you for your kindness to me; for you, I bear, were for letting me go without punishment; but your friend, God be thanked, was not wise enough to take your advice.* But to return:

The king taken from Holmby, and brought to the army. THE king was all this while at *Holmby*: But the animosities between the parliament and army still continuing and increasing, the agitators feared the parliament would now for their own security receive him upon any terms, or rather put themselves

under his protection, that they might the better subdue the army and reduce them to obedience. Wherefore, being instigated thereto by *Cromwell*, they on the 4th of June, sent cornet *Joyce*, one of their body, with a party of horse, to take the king out of the hands of the parliament commissioners, and bring him away to the army. Accordingly, *Joyce* about midnight drew up his horse in order before *Holmby-house*, demanding entrance. Colonel *Greaves*, and major-general *Brown*, who being alarm'd, had doubled the guards, enquiring his name and busines, he said his name was *Joyce*, a cornet in colonel *Whalley's* regiment, and his business was to speak with the king. Being ask'd from whom, he said, *From myself, my errand is to the king, I must and I will speak with him.* *Greaves* and *Brown* commanded their men within to stand to their arms; but they seeing them to be their fellow-soldiers of the same army, open'd the gates, and shook hands with them as old friends. The cornet plac'd his centinels at the commissioners chamber-doors, and went himself by the back-stairs, directly to the king's bed-chamber. The grooms being much surpriz'd, desired him to lay aside his arms, and assured him, that in the morning he should speak with the king: But he with sword and pistol insisted to have the door opened, and made so much noise that it waked his majesty,

who

1647.

who sent him out word, *That he would not rise nor speak with him till the morning*; upon which the cornet retir'd in a huff. The king getting up early in the morning, sent for him, who with great boldness told his majesty, he was commanded to remove him. Whereupon the king desired the commissioners might be call'd; but *Joyce* said, *they had nothing to do, but to return back to the parliament*. Being ask'd for a sight of his instructions, he told his majesty *he should see them presently*; so drawing up his troop in the inner court, *These, Sir,* said he, *are my instructions*. The king having took a good view of them, and finding them to be proper men, well mounted and arm'd, told the cornet with a smile, *His instructions were in fair characters, legible without spelling*. *Joyce* then pressing the king to go along with him, his majesty refus'd, unless the commissioners might attend him; to which the cornet reply'd, *He was very indifferent, they might go if they would*: So the king being attended by the commissioners of the parliament, went along with *Joyce*, and was that night conducted by him to colonel *Montague's* house at *Hinchinbrook*, and the next night to Sir *John Cutt's* at *Childersley* near *Cambridge*. Here *Fairfax*, *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, *Skippon*, and many other officers came to wait upon the king, and some of them kissed his hand. 'Tis said, That *Joyce* being told, that the general was displeas'd with him, for taking the king from *Holmby*, he answer'd, *That lieutenant-general Cromwell had given him orders at London to do all that he had done*; and indeed *Fairfax* now resign'd himself entirely to *Cromwell's* judgment, who led and govern'd him as he pleas'd. And though he was at first dissatisfy'd with this proceeding of *Joyce*, yet *Cromwell* soon appeased him, by representing to him, "That nothing could have been done of greater advantage to the army and their generals, to the church and state, than what

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" what *Joyce* had been doing: That the king was  
 " on the point of making an accommodation with  
 " the parliament, who had determin'd to send  
 " colonel *Greaves* to fetch him; and if *Joyce* had  
 " not fetch'd him, there wou'd have been an end  
 " of both officers and army, and all the pains they  
 " had taken for the publick good, would not only  
 " have been useleſs, but criminal."

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## C H A P. VI.

*From the king's seizure at Holmby, to his departure to the isle of Wight.*

Eleven  
members  
impeach-  
ed by the  
army.

THE parliament received the news of the king's seizure by the army, with the utmost amazement and consternation: But this was not all; for about this time, the army drew up a charge of high-treason against eleven members of the house of commons, *viz.* Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Serjeant *Glyn*, Mr. *Anthony Nichols*, Mr. *Walter Long*, Sir *William Lewis*, Colonel *Edward Harley*, Sir *William Waller*, Colonel *Massey*, and Sir *John Maynard*; for betraying the cause of the parliament, endeavouring to break and destroy the army, &c. This charge was accompanied with a declaration, shewing the reason of what they had done, affirming, that they were obliged by their duty so to do, as they tender'd the preservation of the publick cause, and securing the good people of *England* from being a prey to their enemies. The great end of this charge of treason, being rather to hinder these members, who were the chief of the Presbyterian party, from using their influence in the house (which was very great) in opposition to the proceeding capitally against them, they determin'd rather voluntarily to withdraw themselves, than to put the parliament or army to any further

further trouble, or themselves to any more hazard.

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As these eleven members were the chief of the Presbyterian party in parliament; so at the head of the opposite party (who were all call'd Independents, tho' made up of men of different persuasions, as well as of real Independents) were lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, colonel *Ludlow*, *John Lisle*, Esq; Sir *Henry Vane*, *Henry Marten*, Esq; Sir *Arthur Hatherigg*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, lord *Grey of Groby*, lord *Monson*, *Anthony Stapely*, Esq; *Miles Corbet*, Esq; &c. There was another party in the house of commons who declared for neither side, as Mr. *Pierpoint*, *Bulstrode Whitelock*, Esq; *Oliver St. John*, Esq; *John Crew*, Esq; Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, colonel *Birch*, Mr. *Goodwyn*, Sir *John Hippesley*, &c. Who sometimes voted with the Presbyterians, and sometimes with the Independents, as they thought conduc'd most to the service of the state; and generally they went with those who were for *satisfaction* and *security*, till it was known that the death of the king was meant by it.

*CROMWELL*'s great design, was to hinder any conjunction between the king and the Presbyterians; and having now gotten him into his own hands, he was for endeavouring his restoration, by means of the Independents, thinking that thereby liberty of conscience would be the better secured, which the Presbyterian hierarchy would not so well admit of. And indeed the king himself began to think that his condition was alter'd for the better, and to look upon the Independent interest as more consisting with Episcopacy than the Presbyterian, for that it might subsist under any form, which the other could not do. What encourag'd the king the more, was, that he was much more civilly treated since his being in the army, than he was before, whilst he was the parliament's prisoner at *Holmby*.

1647. *Holmby.* He was now indeed to make his involuntary progress according to the motion of the army, and so at length was brought to *Hampton-Court*; but he was every where allow'd to appear in state and lustre, his nobility about him, his chaplains in waiting, and all servants permitted to attend in their proper places. The army had also sent an address to him full of protestations of duty, beseeching him, " That he would be content, for some time, to reside among them, until the affairs of the kingdom were put into such a posture, as he might find all things to his own content, and security; which they infinitely desired to see as soon as might be, and to that purpose

*His behaviour towards the king.* " made daily instances to the parliament." *Cromwell* indeed thought fit at first to be somewhat upon the reserve in this matter, for fear of increasing the parliament's jealousy of him. The lord *Clarendon* tells us, That he and *Ireton* had been with his majesty, without either of them offering to kiss his hand; that the king used all the address he could towards them, to get some promise from them, as knowing them to have the greatest influence upon the army; but they were so reserv'd, and stood so much upon their guard, and spoke so few words, that nothing could be gather'd from what they said; and they desired to be excused for not seeing his majesty often, upon the great jealousies the parliament had of them, towards whom they professed all fidelity. But after some time, their behaviour toward his majesty was more free and open, they visited him more frequently, and had longer conferences with him; and *Cromwell* in particular is said to have promis'd him, " That if he and his party would sit still, and neither act or declare against the army, they would restore him, and make him the most glorious prince in Christendom." Tho' we are told, that in private among his friends, he boasted, " That now he had got

" the

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"the king into his hands, he had the parliament  
"in his pocket." His majesty was very sensible  
that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* bore the greatest sway in  
the army, and that general *Fairfax* had little or no  
influence upon it. We are inform'd, that his ex-  
cellency conferr'd with the king in private, and in  
a particular manner offer'd him his service; but  
upon his taking leave, his majesty said to him,  
*Sir, I have as good interest in the army as you:*  
Which expression, the general said, was more shock-  
ing, and occasioned him more grief and vexation,  
than all the troubles and fatigues he had endured  
thro' the whole war.

THE news of the king's being in the army, and  
the civil treatment he met with from them, occa-  
sion'd the queen and prince of *Wales*, then in  
*France*, to dispatch Sir *Edward Ford*, who had  
married *Ireton's* sister, but had been an officer in  
the king's army from the beginning of the war, to  
sound the design of the army, and to promote an  
agreement between the king and them. Sir *John*  
*Berkley* was likewise sent over upon the like errand;  
and 'twas in his instructions to procure a pass for  
Mr. *John Ashburnham*, to come and assist him in  
his negotiation. Being on his way towards *London*,  
he was met by Sir *Allen Appesley*, who had been His mes-  
lieutenant-governour under him at *Exeter*; by sage to Sir  
whom he was acquainted, that he was sent to him *John*  
from lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, and some other  
officers of the army, with letters and a cypher, as  
also particular instructions to desire him to call to  
mind his own discourse at a conference with colonel  
*Lambert*, and other officers, upon the surrender of  
*Exeter*; when having taken notice of the bitter re-  
proaches cast on the king by those of the army, and  
supposing that such discourses were encouraged in  
order to dispose mens minds for an alteration of the  
government; he said, "That it was not only a  
most wicked, but difficult undertaking, if not  
E                  " impossible,

1647. "impossible, for a few men, not of the greatest quality, to introduce a popular government, against the king, the nobility and gentry, the Presbyterians, and the genius of the nation, for so many ages accustom'd to monarchy; and advised, That since the Presbyterians, who had begun the war upon many specious pretences, were found to have sought only their own advancements, by which means they had lost almost all their power and credit; the Independent party, who had no particular obligation to the crown, as many of the Presbyterians had, would make good what the Presbyterians had only pretended to, and restore the king and people to their just and ancient rights; which they were concern'd to do in point of prudence and interest, there being no means under heaven more likely to secure themselves, and obtain as much trust and power as subjects are capable of; whereas if they aim'd at more, it would be attended with a general hatred, and their own destruction." He was likewise ordered by *Cromwell*, to let Sir *John* know, "That tho' to this discourse of his, they then gave only the hearing; yet they had since found by experience, that all, or the greatest part of it was reasonable, and they were resolv'd to act accordingly, as might be perceived by what had already pass'd; and desired that he would present them humbly to the queen and prince, and be a suitor to them in their names, not to condemn them absolutely, but to suspend their opinion of them, and of their intentions, till their future carriage should make full proof of their integrity, of which they had already given some testimonies to the world; and that when he had perform'd this office, he would come back to *England*, and be an eye-witness of their proceedings."

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THE parliament at this time fear'd nothing so much, as that the army would make a firm conjunction with the king, and unite with his party, of which there was so much shew; and many imprudent persons, who very much desir'd it, brag'd too much of it; whereupon the two houses sent a committee to his majesty, with an address of another strain than they had lately us'd, making many protestations of duty, and declaring, "That if he was not in all respects treated as he ought to be, and as he desired, it was not their fault, who were desirous he might be at full liberty, and do what he would." The army at the same time was not without jealousy, that the king hearken'd to some secret propositions from the Presbyterian party, and design'd to make an absolute breach between the parliament and the army; which occasion'd Ireton to say to him, *Sir, you have an intention to be arbitrator between the parliament and us, and we mean to be so between you and the parliament.* The king, in the mean time finding himself courted on all hands, was so confident of his own importance, as to imagine himself able to turn the scale to what side soever he pleased. In this temper he was when Sir John Berkley came to him; which he did, after leave obtain'd from Cromwell, who also confirm'd with his own mouth what Sir Allen Appelley had before communicated to Sir John, with this addition, "That he thought His dis-  
no man could enjoy his life and estate quietly, course  
unlesf the king had his right; which, he said, with him.  
they had already declared to the world in gene-  
ral terms, and would more particularly very  
soon, wherein they would comprise the several  
interests of the Royalists, Presbyterians, and In-  
dependents, as far as they were consistent with  
one another." Some time after, 'tis said, Sir John meeting him at Reading, as he was coming from the king at Gaverham, Cromwell told him,

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“ That he had lately seen the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld, which was the interview between the king and his children ; ” and wept plentifully at the remembrance of it, saying, “ That never man was so abus’d in his sinister opinion of the king, who he thought was the most upright and conscientious man in the three kingdoms ; that the *Independent* party were infinitely obliged to him, for not consenting to the propositions sent to him at *Newcastle*, which would have totally ruin’d them, and which his majesty’s interest seem’d to invite him to.” Concluding with this wish, “ That God would be pleas’d to look upon him, according to the sincerity of his heart towards the king.”

Agitators  
and *Crom-  
well*  
doubtful  
of one an-  
other’s sin-  
cerity to-  
wards the  
king.

THE army in general, as well as *Cromwell*, appeared at this time to be very zealous for the king’s interest, and yet they seem’d somewhat to suspect the reality of one another’s intentions. Some of the principal agitators, with whom Sir *John Berkley* convers’d at *Reading*, declar’d to him their jealousy, that *Cromwell* was not sincere for the king, and desired him, if he found him false, to inform them of it, promising, that they would endeavour to set him right, either with or against his will. Major *Huntingdon*, an officer in *Cromwell*’s regiment, who was entrusted by him to command the guard about his majesty, became wholly devoted to the royal interest, and by the king’s order brought two general officers to *Berkley*, as persons in whom he might confide. These two discours’d frequently with him, and assur’d him, “ That a conjunction with the king was universally desired by the officers and agitators, and that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were great dissemblers, if they were not real in it ; but that the army was so bent upon it at present, that they durst not shew themselves otherwise.” They likewise inform’d him, “ That proposals were drawn up by *Ireton*, wherein

“ Episcopacy

" Episcopacy was not requir'd to be abolish'd, nor  
any of the king's party wholly ruin'd, nor the  
militia to be taken away from the crown ;" and  
advis'd, " That his majesty would without delay  
consent to them, there being no assurance of the  
army, which they had observ'd already to have  
changed more than once." Cromwell himself  
was also doubtful of the army. In all his confe-  
rences with Berkley, he appear'd exceeding desirous  
of a speedy agreement with the king, insomuch  
that he sometimes blam'd Ireton's slowness in per-  
fecting the proposals, and his backwardness in  
coming up to his majesty's sense ; and on the o-  
ther hand would wish, that Sir John Berkley would  
act more frankly, and not tie himself up by nar-  
row principles ; always declaring, *That he doubted  
the army would not persist in their good intentions to-  
wards the king.*

By this time Mr. Ashburnham was arriv'd to the Mr. Ab-  
king's great satisfaction. Sir John Berkley convers'd  
chiefly with the agitators ; but Ashburnham was soon  
of another mind, and openly declar'd, That having  
always us'd the best company, he would not con-  
verse with such senseless fellows as the agitators ;  
that if the officers could be gain'd, they would,  
without doubt, be able to command their own army ;  
and that he determined to apply himself wholly to  
them. Hereupon there was soon observ'd a great And cor-  
familiarity between him and Whalley, who com-  
manded the guard that attended the king, as also  
a close correspondence with Cromwell and his son-  
in-law Ireton, messages daily passing from the king  
to the head-quarters : Which soon gave the rest of  
the army a suspicion of some private treaty being  
carry'd on with the king ; who being likewise en-  
couraged by the Presbyterian party (the lord Lau-  
derdale, and several of the city of London, assuring King dif-  
him, that they would oppose the army to the death) likes the  
when the proposals were brought to him, and his army's  
proposals.

1647. concurrence humbly desir'd by the army, he entertained their commissioners with very disobliging language, saying, That no man should suffer for his sake, and that he repented of nothing so much, as that he passed the bill against the earl of *Strafford*; and that he would have the church established according to law by the proposals; for there was nothing mention'd in them concerning church-government. The proposals were indeed much more moderate than those sent to him from the parliament; but he unhappily thought, they proceeded only from the necessity they had of him, and in discoursing with them, would frequently use these or the like expressions, *You cannot do without me; you will fall to ruin, if I do not sustain you.* Not only the officers of the army who were present, but the king's own party, appear'd exceedingly astonish'd at this kind of proceeding; whereupon he began to soften his former discourse, but it was too late; for colonel *Rainsborough*, who seem'd least of all to desire an agreement with him, immediately going out from the conference, went directly to the army, and gave them to understand what treatment their commissioners and proposals had met with from the king.

At which  
it is dis-  
gusted.

LET us now see how matters stood between the parliament, army, and city at this time. The city, who hated the army, had their militia settled on the 4th of *May*, in the management of the *Presbyterians*, who were very diligent in compleating their companies: But this was contrary to the design of the army, and judg'd to be a conspiracy against it; whereupon *Fairfax*, who in every thing was influenc'd by *Cromwell*, upon the 10th of *June* wrote a letter to the parliament, *That the militia of the city of London might be put into the hands of such as were better affected to the army.* This the parliament quietly submitted to, and *July 23d* repeal'd the ordinance of the 4th of *May*.

The

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The common council being hereupon assembled, resolv'd to petition the parliament against it, which they accordingly did on the 26th; and presently after, many thousand citizens, young men and apprentices, went in a body and deliver'd another petition, setting forth, "That to order the city's *militia* was the city's birth-right, belonging to them by charters confirm'd in parliament; for defence whereof, they had ventured their lives as far as the army; and therefore they desir'd, that the *militia* might be put again into the same hands, in which it was put with the parliament's and city's consent, by the ordinance of the 4th of *May*." Upon the reading of this petition, the house of peers immediately revoked the ordinance of the 23d of *July*, and renewed that of the 4th of *May*, and sent it down to the commons for their consent; which they durst not refuse, the apprentices behaving themselves so insolently, that they would scarce let the door of the house be shut, and some of them got in amongst them: And some time after, when the house broke up, the speaker was forc'd back into the chair by the violence of the multitude, who detained him and the members, till they obliged them to pass a vote, *That the king should come forthwith to London*; and another, *That he should be invited to come with honour, freedom, and safety*. And then both houses adjourn'd for four days.

The parliament  
insulted.

In this interval, several members, and the speakers of both houses, being apprehensive of danger from such tumults, repair'd to the army, complaining of the violences upon the parliament. The army could not have desir'd a greater advantage than this gave them, who therefore receiv'd the two speakers with the members, as so many angels sent from heaven for their good, shewed them all imaginable respect, professed all submission to them, as to the parliament of *England*, and declared, *That*

upon sev-  
eral mem-  
bers fly to  
the army  
for protec-  
tion.

1647. they would re-establish them in their full power, or perish in the attempt. After the four days adjournment, the remainder of the parliament met; and both houses missing their speakers, chose them new ones, and passed the following votes. First, That the king should come to London. Secondly, That the militia of London should be authorized to raise forces for the defence of the city. Thirdly, That power be given to the same militia to chuse a general. Fourthly, That the eleven members impeached by the army, should resume their seats in parliament.

THE citizens armed with these powers, proceed to raise forces under the command of *Waller, Masyey and Pointz*; but they were very much discouraged in their proceedings by the news of the general rendezvous of the army upon *Hounslow-heath*, where the two speakers appeared with their maces, and such members as accompanied them, viz. the earls of *Northumberland, Salisbury, and Kent*, the lord *Grey of Werke*, the lord *Howard*, the lord *Wharton*, the earl of *Mulgrave*, and the lord *Say*, and six lords more, with the earl of *Manchester*, their speaker; and about a hundred members of the house of commons, with their speaker, Mr. *Lenthal*. Besides, the borough of *Southwark* was generally for the army, which was now marching towards *London*, to restore the members who fled to them, to their places and authorities. Part of the army seized upon the block-house at *Gravesend*, and block'd up the city by water towards the *East*, and the general with the rest of the army, towards the *West*. Upon this, the aldermen and common-council of the city deserted their three generals, and sent to *Fairfax* for a pacification; which he granted them upon these conditions. First, That they should desert the parliament then sitting, and the eleven members. Secondly, That they should recal their late declaration. Thirdly, That they should relinquish their present militia. Fourthly, That they

Which  
marches  
to London.

should

*Should deliver up to the general all their forts, and the tower of London. Fifthly, That they should disband all the forces they had lately raised, and do all things else, which were necessary for the publick tranquillity.*

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THE next day, Cromwell march'd to Westmin-  
ster, and placed the guards in the court, in the hall, And re-  
stores  
and even at the doors of the two houses : and a lit-  
tle after, general Fairfax conducted the several them to  
members who had fled to the army, to their seats.  
in parliament ; where they annulled all the acts and  
orders, which had passed since the 26th of July.  
Two days after, the army marched, as it were, in  
triumph thro' the city, the general leading the  
avant-guard, major-general Skippon the main body,  
and Cromwell the rear-guard ; and all the soldiers  
having laurel-branches in their hats. After this  
pompous march, the army was distributed into  
quarters, in Kent, Surrey, and Essex ; and thus they  
surrounded the city.

THE city being subdued, and the parliament Factions  
and army seemingly reconciled, there now arose arise in the  
differences in the army itself. The agitators no army.  
longer inclin'd to an agreement with the king,  
were very much disturbed at some of the great of-  
ficers, who were still for promoting such an agree-  
ment : And many in the army complained of the They are  
intimacy of Sir John Berkley and Mr. Ashburnham, jealous of  
with the chief officers of the army, declaring to Crom-  
the council of agitators, that the doors of Cromwell well's  
and Ireton were open to them, when they were treating  
shut to those of the army. Cromwell was very un- king.  
easy at these discourses, and informed the king's  
party of them, telling Ashburnham and Berkley,  
“ That if he were an honest man, he had said  
“ enough of the sincerity of his intentions ; and if  
“ he were not, nothing was enough ; and there-  
“ fore he conjured them, as they tendered the  
“ king's service, not to come so frequently to his  
“ quarters, but to send privately to him ; the  
“ suspicion

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“ suspicion of him being grown so great, that he was afraid to lie in them himself.” Thus the agitators, who were supposed to be first set up by *Cromwell* to oppose the parliament’s design of disbanding, began to be very troublesome to him, and were at length so set against him, that he was forced for his own safety to make his peace with them, by abandoning the king’s interest: as we shall see hereafter.

ABOUT three weeks after the army entered *London*, the parliament thought fit to address themselves to the king, in the old propositions of *Newcastle*, some particulars concerning the *Scots* only excepted. His majesty advising with *Berkley* and *Ashburnham*, and some others about him, upon this matter, ’twas concluded to be unsafe for him to treat with the parliament, whilst the army were the masters: And some say, that instructions were given by *Cromwell* and other officers, *That if the king would assent to their proposals, lower than those of the parliament, the army would settle him again in his throne.* However it was, the king thought fit to wave the parliament’s propositions, or any treaty upon them, and desired a personal treaty upon the proposals of the army. The officers of the army having seen his answer before it was sent, seem’d to be very well pleased with it, and promised to do all they could to procure a personal treaty; and accordingly *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, and many of their party in the house, pres’*d* his majesty’s desires with great earnestness; but, contrary to their expectations, they met with a vigorous opposition from such as had already conceived a jealousy of their private agreement with the king, and now thought themselves sure of it; the suspicions of them growing so strong, that they were look’d upon as betrayers of the cause, and lost almost all their friends in the parliament. The army likewise, which lay then about *Putney*, were no less dissatisfy’d with their pro-

He prevails on the king to reject the parliament’s propositions.

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proceedings, of which they receiv'd daily information from those that came to them from *London*; so that the agitators began to complain openly in <sup>The ar-</sup> council, both of the king and the malignants about him, and declar'd, " That since the king had re- <sup>my preju-</sup> gainst <sup>diced a-</sup> him. <sup>him.</sup>" " ejected their proposals, they were no farther engaged to him; but that they were now to consult their own safety, and the publick good, and having the power devolved upon them by the decision of the sword, to which both parties had appeal'd, and being convinc'd that monarchy was inconsistent with the good of the nation, they resolved to use their endeavours to reduce the government of *England* to the form of a *commonwealth*." They also design'd to have seiz'd *Ashburnham* and *Berkley*, for negotiating the treaty they supposed to have been carried on between the king and *Cromwell*; and carrying their fury yet further, <sup>The fury of the agitators.</sup> were resolved to wrest the king out of the hands of the two traitors, as they called *Cromwell* and *Ireton*. These things struck a great terror into these two leaders, so that they thought it necessary to draw the army to a general rendezvous, which they could the better bring about, because most of the great officers were still well affected to the king, and disliked these proceedings of the agitators, whose exorbitant power they hoped by that means to suppress. But the agitators having notice of the intended rendezvous, and guessing at the design of it, us'd their utmost endeavours to prevent it, and resolved before-hand to seize on the person of the king.

*CROMWELL* in the mean time acquainted the king with the danger he was in, and assuring him of his real service, protested to him, that it was not in his power to undertake for his security in the place where he now resided. Hereupon the king was resolv'd to make his escape from *Hampton-Court*; and some advised him to secure his person by leaving the kingdom: But to this he objected, <sup>By Crom-  
well's ad-  
vice the  
king makes his  
escape from  
*Hampton-  
Court.*</sup> that

1647. that the rendezvous being appointed for the next week, he was unwilling to quit the army till that was over; because, if the superior officers prevailed, they would be able to make good their engagements; if not, they must apply themselves to him for their own security. Several other advices were offer'd him; but he at last resolved to go to the isle of *Wight*, being very probably, as *Ludlow* observes, recommended thither by *Cromwell*, who, as well as the king, had a good opinion of colonel *Hammond* the governour, who was one of the army. Pursuant to this resolution, the king left *Hampton-Court* in the night, *Berkley* and *Ashburnham* with some others accompanying him; and on the 13th of *November* they all went over to the isle of *Wight*, being conducted thither by *Hammond* himself, who the day before came to wait on his majesty at *Titchfield*.

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### C H A P. VII.

*From the king's escape from Hampton-Court,  
and departure to the isle of Wight, to the  
breaking out of the second civil war.*

THE parliament being inform'd of the king's withdrawing himself from *Hampton-Court*, was in a terrible consternation, and immediately pass'd an ordinance, declaring, " That it should be confiscation of estate, and loss of life, for any to harbour, or conceal the king's person, without giving information to the parliament." And being now mostly devoted to the army, they caused some of the most noted presbyterians houses to be searched; and sent posts to all the ports of the kingdom, " That they might be shut, and no person be permitted to embark, lest the king in disguise should transport himself." And a proclamation was published, for the banishing all such as had ever

ever borne arms for the king, from the city, or any place within twenty miles of it. But within two days their fears were all remov'd by *Cromwell's* forming the house, "That he had received letters from colonel *Hammond*, of the king's coming to the isle of *Wight*, and that he remained there in *Carisbrook-Castle* till the parliament's pleasure should be known." He at the same time assur'd them, "That colonel *Hammond* was so honest a man, and so much devoted to their service, that they need not fear his being corrupted by any body." And all this relation he made, says my lord *Clarendon*, with so unusual a gaiety, that all men concluded, that his majesty was where *Cromwell* desired he should be.

ABOUT this time the agitators of nine regiments of horse, and seven of foot, presented a writing to the general, and afterwards to the parliament, declaring;

1. " THAT the people being unequally distributed by counties, cities and boroughs, for election of their deputies in parliament, ought to be more indifferently proportioned according to the number of Inhabitants.
2. " THAT this present parliament be dissolved by the last day of September next.
3. " THAT the people do of course chuse themselves a parliament once in every two years.
4. " THAT the power of this, and all other future representatives is inferior only to theirs who chuse them, and extends, without the consent of any other person, to the enacting, altering, and repealing of laws; to the erecting and abolishing of offices and courts; to the appointing, removing, and calling to account, magistrates and officers of all degrees; to the making war and peace; to the treating with foreign states; and generally to whatsoever is not reserved by those

1647. "those represented to themselves." And here they declare, "That impressing or constraining any to serve in the war, is against freedom, and not allowed to the representatives.

"THAT in all laws every person be bound alike; and that tenure, estates, charter, degree, birth, or place, do not confer any exception from the ordinary course of legal proceedings whereunto others are subjected." And

"THAT the laws must be equal and good, and not destructive to the safety and well-being of the people.

"THESE they declar'd to be their native rights, which they were resolv'd to maintain, and not to depend, for the settlement of their peace and freedom, upon him that intended their bondage [meaning the king] and brought a cruel war upon them." Thus the agitators grew still bolder, and were resolv'd to accomplish their designs; and these with their adherents were now called *Levellers*, and occasioned great disturbance to the parliament and in the army, as likewise the trial and death of the king. They were call'd *Levellers* in derision only, and because they held that no person, of whatever rank, ought to be exempted from the *ordinary course of legal proceedings*; but as for what is said of their being against all degrees of honour or riches, it is utterly false.

THE time for the general rendezvous being come, they who were of this party, to distinguish themselves, appear'd every one with a paper in his hat, with these words written upon it, *The rights of England, and the consent of the people*; signifying thereby, that their design was to abolish, not only monarchy, but also the house of peers, and to establish a pure democracy. This was what colonel Rainsborough, one of their leaders, assisted by Eyre and Scot, went about soliciting from one regiment to another, stirring up the soldiers against

Fairfax,

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Fairfax, Cromwell, and the other general officers. But Cromwell was resolved to endeavour the suppression of this licence: For which purpose, being accompany'd with divers officers, he with a wonderful briskness and vivacity, rode up to one of the regiments, which wore the distinguishing marks, and commanded them to take them out of their hats; which they refusing to do, he caus'd several of them to be seiz'd, and knock'd two or three of them on the head with his own hand; and then the others hearts failing, they submitted to him. He order'd one of those whom he had seiz'd to be shot dead upon the place, and deliver'd the rest into the hands of the marshal, and having dispers'd the army to their quarters, wrote an account of his proceedings to the parliament; who being very desirous to have this spirit quell'd in the army, return'd him the thanks of the house.

THE levellers being thus subdued, and the parliament and army being now pretty much of a temper, 'twas agreed, that a personal treaty should be offer'd to his majesty, on condition, that as a pledge of his future sincerity, he would forthwith grant his royal assent to four preliminary bills. The first of which was for investing the militia in the two houses: The second, for revoking all proclamations and declarations against the parliament: The third, for making void all such titles of honour, as had been conferred by his majesty, since his leaving the parliament; and that for the future, none should be granted to any person without consent of the parliament: And the fourth, that the houses should have power to adjourn themselves as they should think fit. The Scotch being not included in this treaty, their commissioners sent a large declaration in very high language to the two houses at Westminster, protesting against the sending of the four bills, and pressing for a personal treaty with the king at London, upon such propositions as should be

They are  
suppress'd  
by Crom-  
well.

The par-  
liament  
offer a  
treaty  
with the  
king, on  
condition  
he would  
first pass  
four acts.

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be agreed on by the advice and consent of the two kingdoms. But the parliament was to be aw'd only by the army ; and so they order'd the printer of the Scotch declaration to be committed, and then sent them back an answer full of reproof and contempt.

BEFORE we see what reception the four bills met with from his majesty, let us observe how matters pass'd in the army since the late rendezvous. *Ludlow*, as great an enemy to *Cromwell* as to the king, gives us the clearest account of the sudden turn of affairs there, which was to the great damage, and even the ruin of the king's interest ; whom therefore I shall follow upon this occasion.

A large account of *Cromwell's* reconciliation with the *Levelers*, and his quitting the king's interest.

HE informs us, that colonel *Hammond* and Mr. *Ashburnham* had frequent conferences with the king, who had made such promises to *Hammond*, that he express'd his earnest desire, that the army might resume their power, and rid themselves of the agitators, whose authority, he said, he never lik'd. To this end he sent one Mr. *Traughton*, his chaplain, to the army, to advise them to make use of their late success against the agitators ; and soon after he earnestly press'd the king to send some of those who attended on him, to the army, with letters of compliment to *Fairfax*, and others of greater confidence to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*. He also wrote to them himself, "Conjuring them by their engagements, their honour and conscience, to come to a speedy agreement with the king, and not to expose themselves to the fantastick giddiness of the agitators." Sir *John Berkley* was appointed by the king, in pursuance of *Hammond's* advice, to go over to the army ; who taking with him Mr. *Henry Berkley* his confin, went over from the island with a pass from the governour of *Cowes*. Being on his way towards the army, he met Mr. *Traughton*, on his return, between *Bagshot* and *Windscr*, who inform'd him, That he had no

good

good news to carry back to his majesty, the army having enter'd into new resolutions concerning his person. 1647.  
He had not gone much farther, before he was met by cornet Joyce, who told him, "That he was astonish'd at his design of going to the army, for that it had been debated amongst the agitators, whether, in justification of themselves, the king should be brought to a trial;" of which opinion he declared himself to be. Sir John however resolv'd to go to the army, and being arriv'd at Windsor, went to the general's quarters, where the officers of the army were assembled. Being admitted, he deliver'd his letters to the general, who receiving them, order'd him to withdraw. Having waited about half an hour, he was call'd in, when the general, with some severity in his looks, told him, *That they were the parliament's army, and therefore could say nothing to the king's motion about peace, but must refer those matters, and the king's letters to their consideration.* Sir John then look'd upon Cromwell, Ireton, and the rest of his acquaintance; but they saluted him very coldly, and shewing him colonel Hammond's letter to them, smil'd with disdain upon it.

FINDING himself thus disappointed, Berkley went to his lodging; where having staid two hours without any company, he at last order'd his servant to go out, and see if he could find any of his acquaintance. The servant going out, met with one who was a general officer, who bid him tell his master, that he would meet him in such a place at midnight. They being accordingly met, the officer acquainted Berkley in general, that he had no good news to tell him; and then proceeding to particulars, said, "You know, that I and my friends engag'd ourselves to you; that we were zealous for an agreement, and if the rest were not so, we were abus'd: That since the tumults in the army, we did mistrust Cromwell and Ire-

1647. "ton; whereof I informed you. I come now to  
 tell you, that we mistrust neither, and that we  
 are resolved, notwithstanding our engagement,  
 to destroy the king and his posterity; to which  
 purpose Ireton has made two propositions this  
 afternoon; one, that you should be sent pri-  
 soner to London; the other, that none should  
 speak with you upon pain of death; and I do  
 now hazard my life by doing it. The way de-  
 sign'd to ruin his majesty, is to send eight hun-  
 dred of the most disaffected in the army to se-  
 cure his person, and then to bring him to a trial,  
 and I dare think no farther. This will be done  
 in ten days; and therefore if the king can escape,  
 let him do it as he loves his life."

SIR John being exceedingly troubled at this re-  
 lation, ask'd his friend the reason of this change,  
*seeing the king had done all things in compliance with  
 the army, and the officers were become superior since  
 the last rendezvous.* Whereupon he gave him this  
 account: "That though one of the mutineers was  
 shot to death, eleven more imprison'd, and the  
 rest in appearance over-awed, yet they were so  
 far from being so in reality, that two thirds of  
 the army had been since with Cromwell and Ire-  
 ton, to let them know, that though they were  
 sure to perish in the enterprize, they would leave  
 nothing unattempted to bring the whole army  
 to their fense; and if all fail'd, they would make  
 a division in the army, and unite with any who  
 would assist them in the destruction of their  
 opposers. That Cromwell and Ireton reason'd  
 thus with themselves, *If the army divide, the*  
*greatest part will join with the Presbyterians, and*  
*will most probably prevail to our ruin; or we shall*  
*be oblig'd in such a manner to apply ourselves to*  
*the king, as rather to beg than offer any assistance;*  
*which if the king shall give, and be so fortunate*  
*as to prevail; if he shall then pardon us, it will*  
 " be

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" be all we can expect, and more than we can assure  
" ourselves of: And thereupon concluded, That if  
" they could not bring the army to their sense, it was  
" best to comply with them, a division being utterly  
" destructive to both." In pursuance therefore of  
this resolution, lieutenant-general *Cromwell* em-  
ploy'd all his thoughts and endeavours to make his  
peace with the party that was most set against the  
king; pretending, as he knew well enough how  
to do on such occasions, *That the glory of this world  
had so dazzled his eyes, that he could not discern clearly  
the great works that the Lord was doing.* He also  
sent comfortable messages to the prisoners he had  
seiz'd at the late rendezvous, assuring them, that  
nothing should be done to their prejudice; and by  
these and the like arts, he perfected his reconcili-  
ation with the levelling party.

SIR John Berkley returning to his lodging, dis-  
patch'd his cousin to the isle of *Wight* with two  
letters; one to colonel *Hammond*, giving a general  
account, and doubtful judgment of affairs in the  
army; another in cypher, with a particular rela-  
tion of the conference he had with the foremen-  
tioned general officer, and a most earnest supplica-  
tion to his majesty, to think of nothing but his  
immediate escape. The next morning he sent col-  
onel *Cook* to *Cromwell*, to acquaint him that he  
had letters and instructions to him from the king:  
But *Cromwell* returned him answer by the messen-  
ger, *That he durst not see him, it being very danger-  
ous to them both;* assuring him, *that he would serve  
the king as long as he could do it without his own  
ruin;* but desir'd, *that it might not be expected, that  
he should perish for his sake.*

Thus we have seen the motives, that prevailed  
on this famous general to abandon the king's in-  
terest. And much the same account is given by  
*Salmonet*, who will not at all be suspected of being  
partial to *Cromwell*: So that if he hitherto acted

1647. sincerely in his design to serve the king, as is most probable, they who charge him with having contrived his ruin from the beginning of the civil wars, ascribe to him more refin'd and more ambitious views than he really had. He was indeed ambitious enough, and was as good as any at the art of dissimulation: But certainly nothing hinders, but a dissembler may sometimes be in earnest; and his ambition might be gratify'd by the private treaty, that was supposed to be carried on between him and the king, by stipulating such honours and advancements for himself and family, as such a service (*viz.* restoring the king to his throne) might reasonably lay claim to.

*Story of the king's deceiving Cromwell.* AND here I cannot omit another account, that is given by some, of *Cromwell's* falling off from the king, and deserting his interest. They tell us, that there was a report, that *Cromwell* made a private article with the king, *That if his majesty clos'd with the army's proposals, he should be made earl of Essex, knight of the garter, and first captain of the horse-guards; and Ireton was to be made lieutenant of Ireland.* Other honours and employments were likewise stipulated for *Cromwell's* family and friends. But the king was so uxorious, that he would do nothing without the advice of his queen, who not liking the proposal, he sent her a letter to acquaint her, *That though he assented to the army's proposals, yet if by so doing he could procure peace, it would be easier then to take off Cromwell, than now he was the head that govern'd the army.* *Cromwell*, who had his spies upon every motion of the king, intercepted this letter, and thereupon resolv'd never to trust the king more. This indeed is said to have happen'd before the king left *Hampton-Court*: For upon this they tell us, that *Cromwell* fearing he could not manage his designs, if the king were so near the parliament and city as *Hampton-Court*, gave him private information, that he

he was in no safety there, by reason of the hatred which the agitators bore him; and that he would be more secure in the isle of *Wight*. Hereupon the king, whilst the parliament and *Scotch* commissioners were debating his answer to their propositions, made his escape from *Hampton-Court*; as before related.

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I can say nothing to the truth of this story, but leave it to the reader to judge of it as he thinks fit. Only thus much I may observe, that *F. Orleans* says, 'Twas believ'd in *France*, that the king had deceiv'd *Cromwell*; though he makes this to be purely the effect of *Cromwell's* artifice. And the *Lord Clarendon* speaks of *Cromwell's* complaining that the king could not be trusted, though he makes his whole carriage towards his majesty to be nothing but hypocrisy and dissimulation, in order to bring about his own designs. However I shall set down his words. *Ashburnham* and *Berkley*, says he, receiv'd many advertisements (which was a little before the king's escape) from some officers with whom they had most convers'd, and who would have been glad that the king might have been restor'd by the army, for the preferments, which they expected might fall to their share, "That *Cromwell* and *Ireton* resolv'd never to trust the king, "or do any thing towards his restoration." And a little after, he says, That *Cromwell* himself expostulated with *Mr. Ashburnham*, and complain'd, "That the king could not be trusted, and that he had no affection or confidence in the army, but was jealous of them, and of all the officers; that he had intrigues in the parliament, and treaties with the *Presbyterians* of the city, to raise new troubles; that he had concluded a treaty with the *Scotch* commissioners to engage the nation again in blood: And therefore he would not be answerable, if any thing fell out amiss, and contrary to expectation."

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A remarkable discourse between him and lord Brogbill.

AGREEABLE enough to this account is the relation given by the author of the memoirs of the lord Brogbill, of a discourse that passed between the said lord and Cromwell, whilst he was in Ireland, in 1650. He informs us, that the lord Brogbill being in discourse with Cromwell and Ireton, fell upon the subject of the king's death: Cromwell said, *If he [the king] had followed his own mind, and had bad trusty servants about him, he had fool'd them all:* Adding, *We had once an inclination to have come to terms with him, but something that happen'd drew us off from it.* The lord Brogbill seeing they were both in a good humour, ask'd them, *Why, if they were inclined to close with him, they had not done it?* Upon which Cromwell frankly told him, *The reason of our inclination to come to terms with him, was, we found the Scots and Presbyterians began to be more powerful than we, and were strenuously endeavouring to strike up an agreement with the king, and leave us in the lurch; wherefore we thought to prevent them by offering more reasonable conditions:* But while we were busied with these thoughts, there came a letter to us from one of our spies, who was of the king's bed-chamber, acquainting us, that our final doom was decreed that day: *What it was he could not tell, but a letter was gone to the queen with the contents of it, which letter was sewed up in the skirt of a saddle, and the bearer of it would come with the saddle upon his head about ten a-clock the following night to the Blue-Boar-Inn in Holborn, where he was to take horse for Dover.* The messenger knew nothing of the letter in the saddle, but some one in Dover did. We were then at Windsor; and immediately upon the receipt of the letter from our spy, Ireton and I resolved to take a trusty fellow with us, and in troopers habits to go to the inn; which accordingly we did, and set our man at the gate of the inn to watch. The gate was shut, but the wicket open, and our man

staid

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staid to give us notice when any one came with a saddle upon his head. Ireton and I sat in a box near the wicket, and call'd for a can of beer, and then another, drinking in that disguise till ten a-clock, when our centinel gave us notice that the man with the saddle was come; upon which we immediately rose; and when the man was leading out his horse saddled, we came up to him with our swords drawn, and told him we were to search all who went in and out there; but as he looked like an honest fellow, we would only search his saddle; which we did, and found the letter we looked for; and opening it, read the contents, in which the king acquainted the queen, he was now courted by both the factions, the Scots Presbyterians and the army; that which of them bid fairest for him should have him; that he thought he shou'd close sooner with the Scots than the other. Upon which we speeded to Windsor, and finding we were not likely to have any tolerable terms from the king, we immediately resolv'd to ruin him.

FOR a conclusion, I shall set down what Dr. Welwood, in his memoirs, says, concerning this matter. " As every thing, says he, did contribute to the fall of king Charles I. so did every thing contribute to the rise of Cromwell: And as there was no design at first against the king's life, so it's probable that Cromwell had no thoughts, for a long time, of ever arriving at what he afterwards was. It is known, he was once in treaty with the king, after the army had carried his majesty away from Holmby-house, to have restored him to the throne; which probably he would have done, if the secret had not been like to take vent, by the indiscretion of some about the king; which push'd Cromwell on to prevent his own, by the ruin of the king."

HOWEVER it was (for these things must still remain under some confusion) it is certain, as the lord Clarendon observes, that a few days after the

1647. king's departure from *Hampton-Court*, and after it was known he was in the isle of *Wight*, there was a meeting of the general officers of the army at *Windfor* (very probably the same which *Ludlow* mentions, into which Sir *John Berkley* was admitted) where *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were present, to consider what should now be done with the king: And 'twas resolved, *That he should be prosecuted for his life as a criminal person*. This resolution, however, was a great secret, whereof the parliament had not the least notice or suspicion; but was, as it had been, to be led on by degrees to do what it never designed.

The parliament's four bills presented to him.

THE parliament's commissioners being arrived in the isle of *Wight*, presented the four preliminary bills with the propositions on them to his majesty; and the next day the *Scotch* commissioners waited on the king, and entered their protestation to this purpose, " That they had endeavoured all ways and means with the parliament of *England*, for furthering a happy peace; but having seen the propositions and bills brought to his majesty, which they apprehended prejudicial to religion, the crown, and the union between the two kingdoms; they therefore, in the name of the kingdom of *Scotland*, declared their dissent." The king having no mind to pass the four bills, and guessing what might thence ensue, began to think of making his escape. And general *Fairfax* sent a letter to the house of commons to acquaint them, that there had been some meeting in the isle of *Wight*, with an intention to rescue the king; for which reason he had sent orders to the governor, to have a strict guard upon his majesty's person. Whereupon the parliament agreed, that his excellency be required to take special care, for securing the king's person in the castle of *Carisbrook*, and that *Hammond* should obey his farther orders and directions.

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THE commissioners of the parliament were by this time come back with the king's answer, which imported, *That he had refus'd to pass the bills, or to make a composure in that way; but had barely offer'd a personal treaty.* Upon this there followed a long debate in the house, and many severe and bitter speeches were made against the king. Among the rest, Cromwell declar'd, “ That the king was a man of great parts and great understanding; but withal so great a dissembler, and so false a man, that he was not to be trusted.” And thereupon he rehearsed several particulars whilst he was in the army: *That the king wished such and such things might be done; which being done to gratify him, he was displeased, and complained of it: That whilst he professed with all solemnity, that he referred himself wholly to the parliament, and depended only on their wisdom and counsel, for settling and composing the distractions of the kingdom, he at the same time had secret treaties with the Scotch commissioners, how he might embroil the nation in a new war, and destroy the parliament:* Concluding, “ That they might trouble themselves no further with sending messages or farther propositions to the king, but that they might enter upon those counsels, which were necessary towards the settlement of the kingdom, without having farther recourse to him.” Those of his party seconded this motion with new reproaches upon the person of the king; and after several days spent in passionate debates on this matter, the house of commons voted, *First,* “ That they will make no farther applications or addresses to the king. *Secondly,* That no addresses or applications be made to the king by any person whatsoever, without leave from the parliament. *Thirdly,* That they will receive no more messages from the king; and that no person do presume to bring any message from him to the parlia-

Votes of  
no more  
addresses  
to the  
king.

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" parliament, or any other person. Fourthly,  
 " That the person or persons who shall make  
 " breach of these orders, shall incur the penalty  
 " of high treason." And to these votes the lords  
 soon after agreed.

A further  
account  
of the  
speeches  
of Crom-  
well and  
Ireton.

SOME give a larger account of the speeches of *Cromwell* and *Ireton* in this grand debate. They say, that *Ireton* was the first that spake with warmth, and that *Cromwell* seconded him; and that from the king's refusing to sign the four acts, they infer'd, " That he had sufficiently declared himself for arbitrary government :" and alledged, " That he was no longer the protector, but the tyrant of his people; and consequently, that they were no longer his subjects, and that they ought to govern without him; that their long patience had avail'd nothing; and that it was expected from their zeal to their country, that they should take such resolutions, as were worthy of an assembly with whom the nation had intrusted their safety." They add, that as these two persons were not only members of the house, but also chiefs in the army; after they had first spoken under the former character, they spake again in the other, to this effect: *That they were well persuaded of the parliament's good intentions, and were assured, that without suffering themselves to be amused any longer, they would defend the nation by their own proper authority, and by the courage of those valiant men, that were enrolled under their banners, who by their mouths gave them assurances of their fidelity, which nothing could shake.* But have a care, said they, *that you do not give the army, who sacrifice themselves for the liberty of the nation, any grounds to suspect you of betraying them; and don't oblige them to look for their own safety, and that of the nation, in their own strength, which they desire to owe to nothing, but to the steadiness and vigour of your resolutions.* This was a bold speech,

if true ; and 'tis farther said, that *Cromwell*, at the conclusion of it, clapt his hand upon his sword. 1647.

Thus the parliament and army were united against the king ; and now colonel *Rainsborough*, one of the chief of the Levellers, was appointed admiral of the fleet ; and two or three members of the house of commons of that party were sent down to the head quarters at *Windsor*, with orders to discharge from custody captain *Reynolds*, and some others, who had been imprison'd by the officers of the army, for endeavouring to effect that which they themselves were now doing ; and to exhort the officers to use their utmost endeavours towards a speedy settlement.

But notwithstanding this conjunction of the parliament and army, they could not enjoy their Discon-  
power and authority without great disturbance and tents and opposition. The votes of non-addresses had ex-<sup>tumults of</sup> the peo-  
ceedingly enrag'd the Presbyterians as well as the ple-  
royal party ; and the people in general began to  
be very uneasy and discontented. Taxes and im-  
positions were continually increased, and became  
almost an insupportable burden to the nation, and  
yet there was no likelihood of coming to a settle-  
ment for the ease of these grievances ; and most  
believed there would never be any till the king  
was restor'd. Upon this, the people in many parts  
of the kingdom began to exert themselves in the  
behalf of their sovereign, who, however closely  
confin'd in the isle of *Wight*, still held a correspon-  
dence in *England*, and had intelligence from thence.  
Several petitions were brought to the parliament by  
great numbers of people, in a tumultuous manner,  
for a personal treaty with the king ; of which the  
chief were those of *Surry*, *Essex* and *Kent* : And in  
many places, the people began to think of taking  
up arms for compassing these designs. Besides, the  
Scots, pursuant to their treaty with the king, were  
making all possible preparations for raising an ar-  
my ;

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my; wherein the *Presbyterians* and *Cavaliers* join'd, tho' with different views; and the *Presbyterians* in *England*, discours'd freely of great hopes from the other kingdom. Thus the dark clouds began to gather apace, and in a short time a second civil war infested the whole nation.

*Cromwell's management thereupon.*

IN the mean time, as *Ludlow* tells us, lieutenant-general *Cromwell* procur'd a meeting of several leading men of the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* parties, both members of parliament and ministers, at a dinner in *Westminster*, in order to promote a reconciliation between the two interests: But he found it a work too hard for him to heal the differences and animosities of these two prevailing parties, one of which would endure no superior, the other no equal; so that this meeting came to nothing.

*He contrives a conference between the grandees and commonwealth's-men.*

ANOTHER conference was by his contrivance held in *King-street*, between those call'd the grandees of the house and army, and the commonwealth's-men; in which the grandees, of whom *Cromwell* was the head, deliver'd themselves with some uncertainty, and would not declare their opinions either for a monarchical, aristocratical or democratical government, maintaining that any of them might be good in themselves, or for the nation, according as providence should direct: Whilst the commonwealth's-men would have it, that monarchy was neither good in itself, nor for the nation, and us'd several arguments to confirm their opinion, recommending at the same time the establishment of an equal commonwealth; notwithstanding which the lieutenant-general profess'd himself for the present to be unresolv'd; and the next day passing by *Ludlow* in the house, he told him, *That he was indeed convinc'd of the desireableness of what was propos'd, but not of the feasibleness of it.*

*He courts the commonwealth party.*

*CROMWELL*, however, in these times of difficulty and danger, thought fit to court the commonwealth party, and to that end invited some of them

them to confer with him at his chamber. The next time he came to the house of commons, he inform'd Ludlow of it, who freely told him, *That he knew how to cajole and give them good words, when he had occasion to make use of them.* Whereupon with some passion he said, *They were a proud sort of people, and only considerable in their own conceits.* At another time he complain'd to Ludlow, as they were walking in the Palace-yard, of the unhappiness of his condition, having made the greatest part of the nation his enemies, by adhering to a just cause: But his greatest trouble he said was, *That many who were engag'd in the same cause with him, had entertain'd a jealousy and suspicion of him; which he affirm'd to be a great discouragement to him.* This shews, that notwithstanding his late reconciliation with those call'd Levellers, they still suspected he was not true to their cause; and yet, that he found himself under a necessity of keeping as fair with them as possible.

TUMULTS and insurrections still increasing, and all things seeming to threaten a new war, Cromwell thought it likewise necessary to preserve a good understanding between the parliament and army. He therefore got the general to write to the house of lords, to assure them of the army's submission, and that they would act nothing but in concert with the two houses, and by their order. Being likewise afraid of the city, he propos'd in the house of commons to unite the interests of the parliament, the city, and the army, and to make them (as he said) invincible, by making them inseparable. So a treaty was set on foot, in which indeed the army was not mention'd, only that the two regiments that had come into the city upon some disturbance there, should be withdrawn; but the treaty only mention'd the two houses, and the city: And this conjunction was sufficient for Cromwell at present; for he thereby prevented the union, which the city was upon the point of concluding with the Scotch royalists;

He endeavours a union between the parliament, army, and city.

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royalists ; and besides, the power which the army had in the house, was at this time sufficient to secure the city to them. But let us now see, how the second civil war was manag'd, and the great share of success our lieutenant-general had therein.

## C H A P. VIII.

*The second civil war, and Cromwell's actions in it.*

The beginning of the second civil war.

THE first that actually took up arms, were the Welsh ; and this they did under the conduct of major-general *Laughorn*, colonel *Poyer* and colonel *Powel*, who had all three been formerly very zealous in acting on the parliament's side ; but being now to be disbanded by order of the council of war, they refus'd to obey ; and the better to secure themselves, declar'd for the king, and acted by commission and powers from the prince of *Wales*. Major-general *Stradling*, and other royalists, joining with *Laughorn*, he soon had the appearance of a considerable army, which very shortly enabled him to possess himself of the town and castles of *Pembroke* and *Tenby* ; at which time *Chepstow Castle* was likewise surpriz'd by Sir *Nicholas Kemish*. The preparations in *Kent* for a war were not less formidable ; for great numbers in that county rendezvousing near *Rochester*, they chose *Goring* earl of *Norwich*, who was then with them, for their general ; and they soon receiv'd a considerable addition to their strength, by great numbers of apprentices and reform'd officers and soldiers daily flocking from *London* to their quarters ; which so frightned the two houses, that they presently restor'd to the city their militia ; and *Skippon* being re-admitted to the command of their forces, they interrupted the communication with *Kent*, by placing guards upon the passages of the river. The increase

1648.

increase of the *Kentish* forces so animated the seamen, that a considerable part of the navy, with captain *Batten*, sometime vice-admiral to the earl of *Warwick*, revolted from the parliament, and put themselves under the power of prince *Charles*. But the fiercest storm was threatened from the preparations in the *North*, where Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and others of the king's party, having surpriz'd the strong town of *Berwick*, and Sir *Philip Musgrave*, and Sir *Thomas Glemham*, that of *Carlisle*, had rais'd a considerable body to join with the *Scots*, who were now about to enter *England* with a powerful army. Besides this, the earl of *Holland*, with the duke of *Buckingham*, the lord *Francis* his brother, the earl of *Peterborough*, and some other persons of quality, having form'd a party of about five hundred horse with some foot, for his majesty's service, appear'd with them near *Kingston*, and declar'd against the parliament. Several castles were seiz'd and declared for the king; and among the rest *Pomfret* was artfully surpriz'd by major *Morrice*: And there was scarce a county in *England*, where there was not some association forming to appear in arms for the king.

THESE vigorous preparations for a war became very formidable to those at *Westminster*; who hereupon appointed a committee of safety for the commonwealth, which daily sat at *Derby-house*, and consisted of twenty persons, viz. seven lords, and thirteen of the house of commons, of whom lieutenant-general *Cromwell* was one. This committee had power given them to suppress all tumults and insurrections, and for that end to raise forces as they saw occasion. And then for the more speedy suppression of the several insurrections, the army was divided, and small parties sent to those places where the royalists were weakest. *Fairfax*, *Lambert* and *Cromwell* commanded the rest, every one marching a severall way; *Fairfax* into *Kent*, *Lambert* into the

1648. the north, and *Cromwell* into *Wales*, who was afterwards to march into the north and join *Lambert*.

Several insurrections quell'd.

THE earl of *Holland* and duke of *Buckingham* were soon defeated by a party of horse and foot that was sent after them, under the command of Sir *Michael Livesey*. The earl was taken prisoner; the duke, after losing his brother, the lord *Francis*, narrowly escap'd, and went over to *France*. The earl of *Warwick*, with the fleet equipped for him by the parliament, fell down the river towards prince *Charles*, who with the revolted ships had blocked up the mouth of the *Thames*, where he lay some time in expectation, presuming that the earl would not fight him, and might perhaps come over to him: But perceiving, by the manner of his approach, that he was mistaken in that particular, he thought fit to make all the sail he could for the coast of *Holland*. The castles of *Deal* and *Sandwich* were reduced by colonel *Rich*; and many of the revolted ships not finding things according to their expectation, returned to the obedience of the parliament. In the mean time general *Fairfax* routed the Kentish royalists at *Maidstone*, and drove the lord *Goring* with his men into *Essex*; where, tho' join'd by the lord *Capel*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Lisle*, and others, *Fairfax* forc'd them to shut themselves up in *Colchester*, where he besieg'd them, and lay before the place a long time; but having compell'd them at last to surrender upon such conditions as he would allow them, Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Lisle* were shot to death by sentence of the council of war, and the lords *Goring* and *Capel*, were sent prisoners to *Windsor-castle*. But passing by these things, as not so immediately concerning our present design, let us see what share of glory lieutenant-general *Cromwell* acquir'd by his successes in this war.

His business, as before hinted, was to reduce the king's party in *Wales*. In order to effect this, he sent

sent colonel *Horton* thither before him, with about three thousand horse, foot, and dragoons, he himself following with as many forces as could be spared from the army. Being within three or four days march of the colonel, he received information, that *Laughorn* with an army of near eight thousand, had engag'd him at *St. Fagon's* in *Glamorganshire*; that upon the first charge his forces gave ground; but afterwards reflecting on the danger they were in, the country being full of enemies, they charged the van of the royalists, where the best of *Laughorn's* men were, with such fury and resolution, that they oblig'd them to give way; which those in the rear, being mostly new-rais'd men, perceiving, they began to shift for themselves: Upon which *Horton's* men prosecuted their advantage with so much vigour and success, that the whole body of their enemies was soon routed, fifteen hundred slain, and near three thousand taken prisoners.

1648.

*Cromwell*  
being sent  
into *Wales*,  
*Horton* be-  
fore him.

Who de-  
feats *Laugh-  
orn's ar-  
my*.

UPON this *Cromwell* hastens to join him; and in his march comes before *Chepstow*, where they drew out some forces against him: But colonel *Pride's* men fell on so furiously that they gain'd the town, and beat the soldiers into the castle; which being strongly fortify'd, and well provided, *Cromwell* sent to *Bristol* for some great guns, and hastening into *Pembrokeshire*, left colonel *Ewer* to prosecute the siege; who having made a breach on the 25th of May, resolutely attack'd and carried the castle sword in hand; Sir *Nicholas Kemish*, who commanded there, being slain, and an hundred and twenty taken prisoners.

*CROMWELL* being arrived in *Pembrokeshire*, storms first ordered the storming of *Tenby* with colonel *Tenby*. *Overton's* regiment, and part of *Sir W. Constable's*, commanded by lieutenant-colonel *Read*; and after several furious assaults, the town first, and then the castle surrendered upon mercy.

1648.

Takes  
Pembroke  
town and  
castle.

*LAUGHORN* and *Powel*, after their defeat by colonel *Horton*, escap'd to *Pembroke*, which *Poyer* kept for them. Here they thought themselves safe, when *Cromwell* appearing, besieg'd them himself in person in that place: But that dreadful name did not so discourage them, but that being fully persuaded that the stopping of that general would be as good as a victory, when the parliament had so much work on their hands elsewhere, they resolv'd to stand out, and defended themselves long enough to have wearied out almost any other man, as little us'd to be baffled as *Cromwell*. On the contrary, the rumour of the *Scotch* invasion daily increasing, animated the lieutenant-general to employ all his skill and vigour for the reduction of this important place. The garrison within, as has been said, was strong and resolute, and the place well fortify'd, which however he was resolv'd to attempt by storm; and falling on with singular courage, met with gallant resistance: After which, not thinking it adviseable to expose his men to new hazards, he determined to gain that by famine, which could not so well be effected by force. And this he was the rather induc'd to do, for that he had certain intelligence of the small quantity of provisions they had in the town and castle; and then, divisions began to arise amongst them, which at length grew to that height, that the soldiers were ready to mutiny against their commanders; crying out, *We shall be starved for two or three mens pleasures, better it were that we should throw them over the walls.* Accordingly, *Cromwell* order'd strict guard to be kept in his trenches, to keep them from running out; which order being well observ'd, they were compell'd at length to desire a parley, and on the 11th of July surrender'd the town and castle to him upon articles. *Laughorn*, *Poyer*, and *Powel*, and some other officers, surrender'd themselves prisoners at mercy. Sir *Charles Kemish*,

Sir

1648.

Sir *Henry Stradling*, and about ten more officers and gentlemen, were to depart the kingdom within six weeks, and not to return in two years; and all the rest to have liberty to go to their homes, and not to be plunder'd. The sick and wounded were to be taken care of; the towns-men not to be plunder'd, but to enjoy their liberty as formerly; and together with the town and castle, the arms, ammunition and provisions were to be deliver'd up to lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, for the use of the parliament. *Laughorn*, *Poyer*, and *Powel* were afterwards condemn'd by sentence of a court martial; but having the favour to draw lots which of them should die, the other two to be spar'd, the lot fell upon colonel *Poyer*, who was accordingly shot to death in *Covent-Garden*.

ABOUE the time that *Pembroke* was reduc'd, duke *Hamilton* enter'd *England* with an army of about twenty thousand *Scots*, who were farther strengthen'd by the accession of about five thousand *English*, under the command of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*. *Scotland* was at this time divided into two parties, very violent in their opposition one to the other; the rigid *Presbyterians*, who so ador'd the *Covenant*, in the strictest sense of the letter, that they would not depart from the most rigid clause in it, and were utterly against having any thing to do with the *Cavaliers* in this expedition; and these were headed by the marquis of *Argyle*: And the *Hamiltonian* party, who were in effect for restoring the king without any terms, tho' at the same time, in order to the more easy compassing of their designs, they pretended a great veneration for the same *Covenant*. Now, tho' the former was a strong party, and their number very great; yet the others had manag'd so dexterously in getting such elections of members for the parliament, as might enable them to carry their point, that when it came to a trial in that assembly, the anti-covenan-

1648. ters carry'd all before them ; so that instead of the marquis of Argyle, the duke of Hamilton, who was the chief of this latter party, was appointed general of their army, all the inferior officers being of the same mould and principle ; insomuch that the pulpits, which before had proclaimed this war, now accompany'd the army that was marching into England, with their curses.

*Cromwell  
marches  
against  
them.*

THE house of commons receiving intelligence that the Scots had invaded England, declar'd them to be enemies, and order'd lieutenant-general Cromwell to advance towards them, and fight them. Accordingly, having compleated the reduction of Wales, Cromwell march'd towards the North with all his power ; and sent to major-general Lambert, desiring him not to engage with the Scots, till he came up to him and join'd him. Lambert therefore skilfully endeavour'd, rather to harraff the Scotch army than to fight it ; and chose rather to let them advance, that they might have the longer way to retreat home ; and he found his task with them much the easier, by reason of their several unseasonable halts, by which means the army was daily diminish'd, and often separated to their great disadvantage ; all which was owing either to dark designs in the army, divisions, or weak management.

*A charge  
of high-  
treason  
fram'd a-  
gainst him  
to no pur-  
pose.*

WHILST Cromwell was on his march northwards, a charge of high-treason was fram'd against him by major Huntingdon beforementioned, with the advice of some members of both houses, for endeavouring, by betraying the king, parliament, and army, to advance himself. But it being manifest, as Ludlow observes, that the preferring such an accusation at that time, was chiefly design'd to take him off from his command, and thereby to weaken the army, that their enemies might the more easily prevail against them ; the parliament thought

thought it most adviseable to discountenance any thing of that nature. 1648.

To proceed: *Cromwell* having join'd *Lambert*, both armies met on the 17th of *August*, near *Preston* in *Lancashire*. The *English* in the *Scotch* army had the honour of the van, and for a time engag'd *Cromwell's* men with much bravery; but were at last so vigorously press'd upon by them, that they were forc'd to retreat to a pass, which they endeavour'd to maintain, whilst they sent to the duke for succour; which he not sending, they began to shift for themselves; tho' *Langdale* afterwards declar'd, *That if one thousand foot had been sent to him, he verily believed he should have gained the day*; and *Cromwell* himself acknowledg'd, *That he never saw foot fight so desperately as they did*. The *Scots* perceiving the disorder their *English* friends were put into, it made such an impression upon them, that they soon followed their example, retreating in a disorderly manner; but were so closely pursu'd by *Cromwell*, that many of their foot threw down their arms, and yielded themselves prisoners, and many were slain. Several principal officers of their foot were likewise taken, with all their artillery, ammunition and baggage. Many of their horse fled towards *Lancaster*, and were pursu'd near ten miles with great execution.

THE duke march'd away in the night, with about eight thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and *Cromwell* follow'd him with about three thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse and dragoons, killing and taking several in the way; but by the time the rest of his army was come up, the duke recover'd *Wigan*, before they could attempt any thing upon them. All that night they lay in the field dirty and weary, and had some skirmishing with the enemy, who the next morning march'd towards *Warrington*, and made a stand at a pass, which for many hours was disputed with

He defeats  
the Scots  
at Preston  
and other  
places.

1648. great resolution on both sides : But at length *Cromwell* beat them from their standing, kill'd about one thousand of them, and took about two thousand prisoners. He pursu'd them home to *Warrington* town, where they possess'd themselves of the bridge ; but *Cromwell* coming thither, lieutenant-general *Bayley* desir'd to capitulate, and had no other terms given him than, *That he should surrender himself and all his officers and soldiers prisoners of war, with all his arms, ammunition, &c.* which was accordingly done ; and here were taken four thousand compleat arms and as many prisoners, and the duke's infantry was totally ruin'd ; who, with his remaining horse march'd towards *Nantwich*, where the gentlemen of the country took about five hundred of them, and kill'd several ; and *Cromwell* sent post to the lord *Grey*, Sir *H. Cholmeley*, and Sir *Ed. Roade*, to gather all together with speed for the pursuit of the enemy. And so duke *Hamilton* being pres'd upon by the country, fled at last to *Uxeter* in *Staffordshire* ; where, with about three thousand horse which he had with him, he was taken, and sent prisoner to *Windfor*-*Castle*. Thus the whole *Scotch* army, which had occasion'd so much terror, was routed and defeated ; and what is most remarkable, is, that all this great victory was obtained by *Cromwell*, with an army amounting to scarce above a third part of the *Scots* in number, if they had been all together ; the conduct of this general, and the goodness of his troops, making amends for the smallness of the number, which was not diminish'd half a hundred in gaining this victory, after the *English* under *Langdale* had been beaten. And though indeed the circumstances of this victory are variously related by historians, yet all agree in attributing the honour of it to *Cromwell*. All the enemy's cannon and baggage was taken, with their colours ; and only some of their horse, which had been quarter'd most backward, made haste to carry news to their country,

try, of the ill success of their arms. They who did 1648. not take the way for *Scotland*, were, for the most part, taken by the activity of the country or the horse that pursu'd them. And Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, after he had made his way with some of his men, who continu'd with him till they found it safest to disperse themselves, was discover'd; and being taken prisoner was convey'd to the castle of *Nottingham*, from whence afterwards he had the good fortune to escape.

LIEUTENANT-general *Cromwell* having thus Marches defeated the *Scots* under duke *Hamilton*, resolv'd against *Monroe*. to prosecute the advantage, by marching with all possible speed against *Monroe*, who was come into *England*, as a reserve to the duke, with above six thousand horse and foot, and had march'd almost to the borders of *Lancashire*: But having notice giuen him, that *Cromwell* was advancing towards him, and not thinking he should be able to stand before him, who but just before had defeated an army so much exceeding his own, he made what haste he could back into *Scotland*.

*CROMWELL* having thus rid the whole nation in general of a great fear, and eas'd the *North* in particular of that grievous burden they groan'd under, by the plunder and oppression of the *Scotch* army, resolv'd to prosecute his victory to the utmost, by entering into *Scotland* it self, that he might effectually root out there whatever threatned any further disturbance. It was generally believ'd, that the marquis of *Argyle* earnestly invited him to this progress; for notwithstanding duke *Hamilton*'s defeat, his brother the earl of *Lanrick* still bore all the sway in the committee of parliament, as well as in the council; and the troops which *Monroe* had rais'd for the recruit of the duke's army, were still together, which the few forces rais'd by *Argyle* were not sufficient to oppose. However, if he did not invite *Cromwell*, 'tis certain he was very glad of

1648. his coming, and made all possible haste to bid him welcome at his entrance into the kingdom.

Reduces  
Carlisle  
and Ber-  
wick.

Enters  
Scotland,  
and pub-  
lishes a  
declara-  
tion.

Marches  
to Edin-  
burgh.

*CROMWELL* with his victorious army continuing his march towards *Scotland*, in his way reduced *Carlisle* and *Berwick* to their former obedience, both being deliver'd up to him on composition. Being just ready to enter that kingdom, he drew his army to a rendezvous on the banks of the *Tweed*, and order'd proclamation to be made at the head of every regiment, that none of them should force from the *Scotch* people any of their cattle or goods, upon pain of death; but that in all things they should behave themselves civilly in their march and quarters, giving no offence to any. As he enter'd *Scotland*, he declar'd, " That " he came with his army to free the kingdom from " a force, which it was under from malignant men, " who had forc'd the nation to break the friend- " ship with their brethren of *England* who had " been so faithful to them; That it having pleas'd " God to defeat the army under duke *Hamilton*, " who endeavour'd to engage the nation in each " other's blood, he was come thither to prevent " any further mischief, and to remove those from " authority who had used their power so ill; and " that he hop'd he should in very few days return " with an assurance of the brotherly affection of " that kingdom to the parliament of *England*, " which did not desire in any degree to invade " their liberties, or infringe their privileges." Up- on this the earl of *Lanrick*, and all the *Hamiltonian* party withdrew from *Edinburgh*; and they who continu'd there were resolv'd to comply with *Ar- gyle*, who they now saw could protect them.

*CROMWELL* march'd directly for *Edin- burgb*, and in his way was met by many of the *Scotch* nobility and gentry from the committee of estates, with congratulatory orations in honour of his worthy achievements; acknowledg<sup>ing</sup> that his presence

presence would conduce much to the composing of the distractions of the kingdom. Being thus conducted to *Edinburgh* by the marquis of *Argyle*, and the rest that came to meet him, he was receiv'd there with all the solemnity and respect due to the deliverer of their country. His army was quarter'd about, and supply'd with all provisions the country could afford ; and himself was lodg'd in the earl of *Murrey's* house, where resorted to him the lord chancellor, with many others of the nobility and gentry. The lord provost, with several eminent citizens, came likewise to welcome him thither, and present their service to him. Thus the Scotch Presbyterians, who lately look'd upon the Independent party as the worst of their enemies, now own'd and embrac'd this *Sectarian* army (as they before call'd it) as their best friends and deliverers.

LIEUTENANT-general *Cromwell* had not been long at *Edinburgh*, before he demanded of the committee of estates, that they would seclude from all publick trusts, all who had any hand in, or did in the least promote duke *Hamilton's* late invasion : To which the committee gave a satisfactory answser. Several other demands were likewise made by him, with which the committee comply'd ; and he reserv'd liberty for the parliament of *England*, to make such further demands as they should think requisite. Whilst he staid with them, the committee sent an order and command to *Monroe* to disband his troops ; which when he seem'd resolv'd not to do, he soon perceiv'd that *Cromwell* must be the arbitrator ; and thereupon he very punctually obey'd the orders of the committee.

*CROMWELL* having thus finish'd what he came about, began to prepare for his return to *England* ; but before he left them, the committee fearing some new disturbance might arise after the departure of the *English* army, requested him, that he

1648.

His reception there.

He disposes the  
*Hamiltonians*.

1648. he would leave some forces with them, which might be ready to suppress any insurrections ; promising, that when they had rais'd a sufficient force for their own defence, they would dismiss them, and send them back into their own country. To this *Cromwell* readily yielded, and appointed major-general *Lambert*, with three regiments of horse, for the said service.

Is magnificently treated.

MATTERS having been thus concerted to the satisfaction of both parties, the *Scots* invited *Cromwell* and the chief officers of his army to the castle of *Edinburgh*, whither they were all conveyed in coaches, and were magnificently treated at a banquet prepar'd for them ; and at their departure, they were saluted by all the cannon of the castle, and many vollies of small shot. On the 16th of October, *Cromwell* left *Edinburgh*, being conducted several miles on his way by the marquis of *Argyle*, and many others of the Scotch nobility ; and at their parting, great demonstrations of affection pass'd betwixt them. Soon after, the committee of estates sent letters to the parliament of *England*, acknowledging, “ That they were sensible of the benefit to *Scotland*, against the enemies of both nations, by the coming thither of the forces under lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, and major-general *Lambert* ; and that the deportment of the officers and soldiers had been so fair and civil, that they trusted by their carriage the malignants would be much convinc'd and disappointed, and the amity of both kingdoms strengthen'd and confirm'd ; which they, on their part, should likewise study to preserve.”

Arrives at *Newcastle* with his army, was nobly treated there, and welcom'd with great guns, ringing of bells, and other rejoicings. From hence he bends his course directly to *Carlisle*, having first order'd some forces for strengthening the siege of *Pontefract* or *Pomfret-Castle*.

And returns for *England*.

1648.

Castle. This place, though not very great, was very considerable for its strength, but most remarkable for the valour of those who defended it, whereby it became famous at this time all over the kingdom. The garrison consisted of about four hundred foot, and a hundred and thirty horse, all bold and resolute men, as appear'd by their actions. One time a party of horse issuing out of the castle, took Sir *Arthur Ingram*, and carrying him in, oblig'd him to pay one thousand five hundred pounds for his ransom, before he could get out again. At another time captain *Clayton*, and most of his troops were seiz'd upon by them, and made prisoners. They likewise fetch'd two hundred head of cattle, with many horses, into the castle, whilst Sir *Henry Cholmely* lay before it with his forces, to keep them n. But the boldest action of all was this (which was indeed a wicked one:) One morning before day, there fallied out about forty horse, who hasten'd away to *Doncaster*, where colonel *Rainsborough*, who had a commission to command in chief before the castle, then quarter'd. Being come near the town, three of the party leaving their companions without, with great confidence march'd in, and enquir'd for colonel *Rainsborough*'s quarters; which being inform'd of, they enter'd, pretending they came to deliver a letter to him, from lieutenant-general *Cromwell*. When they came to him, being in bed, they told him he was their prisoner; but upon his refusal to go silently with them, they run him thro' with their swords, so that he immediately expir'd. And altho' his forces then kept guard in the town, these bold fellows, with all their party, got back into the castle in the middle of the day.

To repress these insolent proceedings, *Cromwell*, immediately after he had settled the rest of the northern parts in peace and quietness, came himself before *Pomfret*; and having order'd the several posts for a close siege, which put a stop to their Comes  
thither  
himself,  
and leav-  
ing Lam-  
bert before  
it, marches  
thus for London.

1648. thus ranging abroad, he left major-general *Lam-*  
*bert*, who was just come out of *Scotland*, with a  
 strong party before it, to compleat the work, whilst  
 himself took his march directly for *London*.

'Twas in this his return from the north that he  
 wrote the following letter.

*SIR,*

" I suppose it is not unknown to you how much  
 " the country is in arrear to the garrison of  
 " *Hull*, as likewise how probable it is that the  
 " garrison will break, unless some speedy course  
 " be taken to get them money, the soldiers at the  
 " present being ready to mutiny, as not having  
 " money to buy them bread; and without money  
 " the stubborn town's-people will not trust them  
 " for the worth of a penny. Sir, I must beg of  
 " you, that as you tender the good of the coun-  
 " try, so far as the security of that garrison is  
 " mentioned, you would give your assistance to  
 " the helping of them to their money which the  
 " country owes them. The governour will ap-  
 " ply himself to you either in person or by letter,  
 " I pray you do for him herein as in a businesse of  
 " very high consequence. I am the more earnest  
 " with you, as having a very deep sense how dan-  
 " gerous the event may be of their being neglect-  
 " ed in the matter of their pay. I rest upon your  
 " favour herein, and subscribe my self,

*SIR,*

*Your very bumble servant,*

*Knittingly, Nov.*  
*25, 1648.*

*O. Cromwell.*

*For my noble friend, Thomas St. Nicholas, Esq;*

*C H A E*

## C H A P. IX.

*From the second civil war, to the King's death.*

BEFORE we prosecute our relation of the proceedings of *Cromwell* and the army, from his return out of *Scotland*, to the king's death, it will be necessary to look a little back, and see how matters were carried in the parliament.

SOON after the army was remov'd from *London*, Proceed-  
by reason of the late insurrections, those of the fe- ings in the  
cluded members who were in *England*, ventur'd to parlia-  
return to their former seats, and the Presbyterians  
began to prevail again in the house; and *Cromwell*  
and the other officers who were members of the  
house, had not been long absent before the com-  
mon-council of the city thought fit to present a pe-  
tition to the parliament for a personal treaty with  
the king, as the only way to restore the nation to a  
happy peace. This appear'd so much to be the  
sense of the city, that the parliament durst not po-  
sitively reject it; and indeed the greatest part of  
them did at this time very much desire the same  
thing. Hereupon Sir *Henry Vane*, with the rest  
of the army-party in the house, were forced to con-  
ceive some specious way to delay it, by seeming to  
consent to it. And so a committee of the com-  
mons being appointed to confer with a committee  
of the city, about means to provide for the king's  
safety during the time of the treaty, the former  
perplex'd the other with various questions, to which  
they knew there could be no answer given without  
first calling another common-council to receive  
further instructions. By this device, and by start-  
ing new questions at every meeting, much time  
was spent, and the desir'd delays obtain'd. How- They re-  
ever, the parliament at last declar'd, "That they solve upon  
would enter into a personal treaty with his maje- a personal  
ty for settling the peace of the kingdom; and treaty  
with the  
" that king.

1648: "that the treaty should be in the isle of *Wight*,  
 " where his majesty should enjoy honour, freedom  
 " and safety." And commissioners were sent from  
 both houses to inform the king, "That the par-  
 liament desir'd a treaty with his majesty upon  
 the propositions tender'd to him at *Hampton-*  
*Court*, and such others as should be presented to  
 him."

THEY were no sooner return'd from the isle of *Wight* with the king's answer, but the parliament had notice of the defeat of the *Scotch* army; and *Cromwell* writes to his friends, "That it would be such a perpetual ignominy to the par-  
 liament, that no body abroad or at home would ever give credit to them, if they should recede from their former vote and declaration of no more addresses to the king; conjuring them to continue firm in that resolution." But the parliament had made too great a step to go back from what they were now upon; and since the first motion for a treaty, many absent members resorted to the house and promoted the design; so that they were much more numerous than those who labour'd to obstruct it: And so, notwithstanding all opposition, it was declar'd,

Votes of  
no-ad-  
dresses re-  
peal'd.

"That the votes of no-ad-  
 dresses should stand repeal'd; that the treaty  
 " should be at *Newport*; and that his majesty should  
 be there with the same freedom, as when he was  
 at *Hampton-Court*; that the instructions given to  
 colonel *Hammond*, for the more strict confining  
 him, should be recall'd; and that all whom the  
 king had nam'd, should have liberty to repair to  
 him, and remain with him undisturb'd." Then they nominated five lords and ten of the house of commons to be their commissioners to treat with the king, and order'd them to hasten the treaty with all possible expedition: But Sir *Henry Vane* being one of them, us'd all his arts to delay it, as he had done before with the parliament, in hopes that

that Cromwell would finish matters in Scotland time 1648. enough to return, and to use more effectual means to obstruct it, than he was furnished with. Cromwell was very well appriz'd of these proceedings, which made him think, that his presence at the parliament was so necessary to restrain the Presbyterians, who ceas'd not to vex him at any distance, that he would not be prevail'd with to tarry and finish that only difficult work which remain'd, viz. the reducing Pomfret-Castle; but leaving it to Lambert, continued his march for London, as before related.

FOR TY days were appointed for the treaty; which being expir'd, and all men thinking the treaty was ended, the commissioners received new orders and instructions to enlarge it fourteen days longer, and after that to continue it four days more, and last of all one day more: After which the commissioners returned; and whilst their report was under consideration in the house, the large remonstrance of the army was brought from the headquarters, which was now at Windsor, to the house of commons; in which they desired, " That the parliament would lay aside all further proceedings in this treaty, and return to their vote of no-addresses; that the king might come no more to government, but be brought to justice, as the capital cause of all the evils in the kingdom; that a day might be set for the prince and the duke of York, to appear and answer to such things as might be laid to their charge; and if they fail'd herein, they might be declar'd traitors: That an end might be put to this parliament, and new representatives of the people chosen, for the governing and preserving the whole body of the nation: That no king might be hereafter admitted, but upon election of, and in trust for the people, &c." In conclusion, they press these things, as good for this and other

What hastened Cromwell's return to London.

1648. "other kingdoms, and hope it will not be taken ill, because from an army, and so servants, when their masters are servants, and trustees for the kingdom."

Great contests between the parliament and army. This remonstrance put the house into a great confusion; but that which occasion'd the greatest consternation, was the news from the isle of *Wight*, that *Hammond* was discharged, and colonel *Ewer* had carried away the king to *Hurst-Castle*. Upon

this, the house, which was then in the heat of the debate upon the king's answer, immediately desisted, and voted, "That the carrying the king to *Hurst-Castle*, was without their advice and consent;" and sent a letter to the general, "That the orders and instructions to colonel *Ewer* were contrary to those given to colonel *Hammond*; and therefore it was the pleasure of the house, that he should recal those orders, and that colonel *Hammond* should again resume the care of the king's person." But the general (who hitherto agreed in every thing with the army) in return, demanded the arrears due to the army; and declar'd, That unless there were present money sent for that purpose, he should be obliged to remove the army nearer to *London*. At the same time the army sent a new declaration to the house, in pursuance of their late remonstrance; which the house refus'd to take into consideration; and some resolute members moved, "That the army might be declared traitors, if they presumed to march nearer *London* than they were at present; and that an impeachment of high-treason might be drawn up against the principal officers of it."

The army marches to *London*. Hereupon the general marched directly to *London*, and quarter'd at *White-hall*; and other officers with their troops in *Durham-house*, the *Meuse*, *Covent-garden*, and *St. James's*; and to supply the present necessity, and prevent all inconveniences, they sent to

the

the city for forty thousand pounds to be issued out 1648.  
without delay for the army.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, the party in Notwith-  
standing the house who were friends to the treaty, resolved still to exert themselves; upon which there follow-  
ed a violent struggle between them and those on the contrary side, which continu'd a whole day and night together: And about five in the morning, December 5, they first put the question, *Whether the question should be put?* and carried it by a hundred and forty voices against a hundred and four; so that they pass'd the grand question, and voted without dividing, *That his majesty's concessions to the propositions upon the treaty, were sufficient grounds for the parliament to proceed upon for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom.* And to prevent any after-claps, they appointed a committee to confer with the general, for the better procuring a good intelligence and correspondence between the army and the parliament; and then adjourn'd till the next morning.

THE officers and army finding the parliament Upon thus resolute in opposing their designs, and that their coming into the city was not a sufficient check upon them, resolv'd now to exert themselves to purpose. Accordingly some regiments of horse and foot being sent to Westminster, they set guards upon all the avenues to the parliament-house, and seized upon one and forty of the members, as they were entering. And as they made prisoners of these, so about an hundred more were denied entrance into the house; whereupon the rest of the Presbyterian party being somewhat dismay'd at the treatment of their fellow-members, declin'd coming to the house, leaving it to the possession of about an hundred and fifty; who being for the most part officers of the army, were disposed to do every thing according to the direction of their leaders.

1648. THE army having thus purged the house from all they either knew or suspected to be enemies to their designs, lieutenant-colonel Axtel came in, and presented to the remaining members the proposals of the army, setting forth, "That they had for a long while sadly beheld and tasted, in their proceedings, the miserable effects of counsels divided and corrupted by faction, and personal interest; and desiring, that all faithful members would acquit themselves by a protestation of their not concurring in the late proceedings, and would then speedily and vigorously proceed to take order for the execution of justice."

*Cromwell arrives, and receives the thanks of the house.* THE night after this interruption was given to the house, lieutenant-general Cromwell arrived in town, and lay at *White-hall*; and the next day taking his place in parliament, he had the hearty thanks of the house given him for his great and faithful services perform'd for the nation; which he receiv'd with the greatest appearance of humility (as he was used to do) not taking to himself the least of all those great things perform'd by him, but ascribing them wholly to God, the giver of all victory.

*He is supposed to have the chief hand in the late proceedings.* CROMWELL, tho' absent, is generally supposed to have influenc'd in all the late proceedings, and to be the chief promoter of them. 'Tis said that at the leaguer before *Pomfret*, he induc'd all the regiments under him to petition against the treaty, and for justice on the king; that 'twas by his advice and direction that the remonstrance of the army was drawn up and presented to the house; and some say, that 'twas he that sent colonel *Eyre* to remove the king to *Hurst-castle*. 'Tis certain that both he and his son-in-law *Ireton* had a very great influence upon the general, and could manage him almost in every thing as they pleas'd. However it was, *Cromwell*, upon his arrival, declar'd at *White-hall*, and other places, *That he had*

been acquainted with the design (of the army's interrupting the house); yet since it was done, he was ~~very~~<sup>1648.</sup> glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it.

THE remnant of the house of commons immediately renew'd their votes of *Non-addresses* to the king, and annull'd all those that introduced and succeeded the treaty; and particularly resolv'd, *That the king's answer to their propositions was not satisfactory.* Soon after it was moved in the house, to proceed capitally against the king, when Cromwell stood up and declar'd, "That if any man mov'd this upon design, he should think him the greatest traitor in the world; but since providence and necessity had cast them upon it, he would pray God to bless their counsels, tho' he was trying the not provided on the sudden to give them counsel." On December 16th, a party of horse was sent over to *Hurst-castle*, to bring the king to *Wind-sor*; who lay at *Farnham* on the 22d, and was deliver'd up at *Windsor-castle* the day following, colonel *Harrison* commanding the guards about him. Soon after, the council of war order'd, *That nothing should be done upon the knee to the king; that all ceremonies of state us'd to him should be left off, and his attendance should be with fewer persons, and at his charge.*

NEXT day the committee of the commons, which had been appointed to draw up a charge against the king, reported an ordinance for impeaching Charles Stuart king of England of high-treason; and for trying him by commissioners to be nominated in the said ordinance; which being agreed to by the commons, was on January 2d, carry'd up to the lords for their concurrence. But upon their rejecting it, the commons pass'd these remarkable votes; first, *That the people are, under God, the original all just power.* Secondly, *That the commons of England, being chosen by, and representing the People, are the supreme Power of the nation.* Thirdly,

1648. That whatsoever is enacted or declared for law, by the house of commons assembled in parliament, hath the force of law, tho' the consent of the king and house of peers be not had thereunto.

High court of justice erected.

THEN they proceeded to constitute and erect a court, to be called the high court of justice, which should have authority to try the king, and to examine witnesses for that purpose. The number of the commissioners nominated were a hundred and thirty five, whereof twenty or more had power to proceed. They consisted promiscuously of members of the house, officers of the army, citizens and country gentlemen. About fifty that were nam'd, refus'd to act, of which number were the speaker *Lenthal*, and general *Fairfax*. Of those who acted, lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, and commissary-general *Ireton* were next the president. The commissioners made choice of serjeant *Bradshaw* for that office, and nominated Mr. *Steel* to be attorney-general, Mr. *Cook* solicitor, Dr. *Dorislaus* and Mr. *Ask* to be pleaders against the king; and *Westminster*-*hall* was appointed to be the place of trial: In

The king order to which solemn transaction, the king was remov'd from Windsor to St. James's by colonel *Harrison*.

On the way *Harrison* observ'd, that the king was under an apprehension of a fix'd purpose to murder him; and that he let fall some words of the odiousness and wickedness of such an assassination, which could never be safe to the person who undertook it: Whereupon he took occasion to assure him, that he needed not to entertain any such imagination; that the parliament had too much honour and justit to cherish so foul an intention; that whatever the parliament resalved to do would be very publick, and in a way of justice, to which the world should be witness; and that they would never endure a thought of secret violence. But his majesty could not believe him; nor did he imagine they would ever venture

to proceed against him in the way of a publick trial, before all the people. 1648.

All the king's friends both at home and abroad now give him for lost; and yet they did not neglect to make their utmost efforts to save him. Endeavours to save him. The states-general order'd their ambassador to represent to the parliament, that the course they were going to take with the king, would be a lasting reproach to the Protestant interest. The prince of *Wales*, and prince of *Orange*, daily sent, as agents, the kindred and relations of *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and other judges appointed to try his majesty, with commission to offer any thing, and to make any promises to save his life, or at least to put off the judgment. And the prince wrote a very pathetical letter to general *Fairfax*, in his father's behalf. The duke of *Richmond*, the marquess of *Hertford*, the earls of *Lindsey* and *Southampton*, as is said, generously offer'd their own heads to save the king, and would have undertook to suffer in his stead for whatever he had done amiss. Almost all the Presbyterian ministers in the city, and very many out of the country, and some even of the Independents, declared against the design in their sermons, in petitions, protestations, and publick remonstrances. And the *Scots* at the same time sent commissioners in great haste, to declare and protest against this unheard-of attempt.

These commissioners, as bishop *Burnet* informs us, came also to *Cromwell* to argue the matter with him. They highly blam'd indeed many of the king's actions, and in a heavy languid style charg'd him with very great crimes: But still they insisted on that clause in the covenant, whereby they solemnly swore they would be faithful in the preservation of his majesty's person: Upon which they observ'd, on what conditions *Scotland*, as well as the parliament of *England*, had engag'd in the war; and what solemn declarations of their zeal and duty

1648. to his majesty they had all along made; which would now be found, to the scandal and reproach of the Christian name, to have been false pretences, if now the king was in their hands, they should proceed to extremities. Hereupon *Cromwell* held a long discourse with them concerning the nature of the regal power; and declar'd 'twas his opinion, that a breach of trust in a king, deserved greater punishment than any other crime. And then, as to their covenant, he said, they swore to preserve the king's person in defence of the true religion; so that if it was manifest, that the establishing of the true religion was hinder'd by the king, so that it could not be effected without removing him, then their oaths could not oblige them to the preserving him any longer. He further said, they were bound by their covenant to bring all malignants, incendiaries, and enemies to the cause, to condign punishment; and was not this to be executed impartially? What were all those on whom publick justice had taken place, especially those who suffer'd for joining with *Montroſs*, but small offenders, who had acted by commission from the king, who was therefore the principal, and so the most guilty? Thus *Cromwell* had manifestly the better of them at their own weapons, and upon their own principles.

The trial  
of the  
king.

ALL endeavours being ineffectual, and the court having finish'd all the necessary preparations, the king's trial began on Saturday the 20th of January. The substance of the charge against him was, "That  
" he had endeavour'd to set up a tyrannical power,  
" and to that end had rais'd and maintain'd in the  
" land a cruel war against the parliament; whereby  
" the country had been miserably wasted, the pub-  
" lick treasure exhausted, thousands of people had  
" lost their lives, and innumerable other mischiefs  
" committed." The commissioners for trying him being met in *Westminster-Hall* on the foresaid day,

1648.

the court order'd the serjeant at arms to send for their prisoner from Sir Robert Cotton's house, whether he had been removed; who accordingly was brought up in the face of the court by colonel Tomlinson, under a strong guard, and deliver'd to the serjeant at arms, who conducted him to the bar, where a crimson velvet chair was plac'd for him. Having heard his charge read, he refus'd to plead to it, either guilty or not guilty, till he should know by what lawful authority he was brought thither; and the answer given not satisfying him, he persisted in that refusal. The same he did on *Monday January 22d*, when he was a second time brought before the court; as also the next day, being the third time. Finally, on *January 27th*, the king being a fourth time brought into the court, desir'd, before sentence was pass'd against him, to be heard before the lords and commons in the *painted chamber*; with design, as 'tis thought, to have resign'd his crown to his son, the prince of *Wales*: Upon which the judges retir'd for half an hour to consider of his request; and then returning they order'd the king to be brought again to the bar; when the president told him, that what he had propos'd was but a further denial of the jurisdiction of the court, and tended to the delay of justice; and if he had no more to say, they would proceed to judgment. And the king answering, he had no more to say, Bradshaw made a long harangue in vindication of the parliament's proceedings, grounding his discourse mostly on this principle, *That the people have the supreme power, and the house of commons is the people.* This speech being ended, and the charge again recited, sentence was pronounced in these words; *For all He is concerned which treasons and crimes, this court doth adjudge, to be put to death,* *that the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and publick enemy, shall be put to death,* *by the severing his head from his body.*

1648. — Tho' the king was condemned, and there ap-  
pear'd no hope of saving his life, yet still endeavours were not wanting for that purpose. The following story is told on this occasion; That colonel John Cromwell, a near relation of the great Oliver, came to town about this time, with credential letters from the states of Holland, whereto was added a blank, with the king's signet, and another of the prince's, both confirm'd by the states, for Cromwell to set down his own conditions, if he would now save his majesty's life. The colonel went directly to his kinsman's house, who was so retir'd and shut up in his chamber, with an order to let none know he was at home, that 'twas with much difficulty he obtain'd admittance, after he had told who he was. Having mutually saluted each other, the colonel desir'd to speak a few words with him in private; and began with much freedom to set before him the heinousness of the fact, then about to be committed, and with what detestation 'twas look'd upon abroad, telling him, That of all men living, he could never have imagin'd, he would have had any hand in it, who, in his bearing, had protested so much for the king. To this Cromwell answer'd, It was not he but the army, and tho' he did once say some such words, yet now times were alter'd, and providence seem'd to order things otherwise. And 'tis said, he added, That he had pray'd and fasted for the king, but no return that way was yet made to him. Upon this the colonel step'd a little back, and suddenly shut the door, which made Cromwell apprehend he was going to be assassinated; but the other pulling out his papers, said to him, Cousin, this is no time to trifl with words: See here, it is now in your own power not only to make yourself, but your family, relations and posterity, happy and honourable for ever; otherwise, as they have chang'd their name before from Williams to Cromwell, so now they must be forced to change it again; for this fall

Crom-  
well's  
kinsman  
sent to  
him, in  
behalf of  
the king.

1648.

fall will bring such an ignominy upon the whole generation of them, that no time will be able to deface. At this Cromwell paus'd a little, and then said, Cousin, I desire you will give me till night to consider of it, and do you go to your inn, and not to bed, till you hear from me. The colonel did accordingly, and about one in the morning a messenger came to tell him, He might go to rest, and expect no other answer to carry to the prince; for the council of officers had been seeking God (a phrase, it seems, very much in use at that time) as he also had done the same, and it was resolved by them all, that the king must die. A committee was appointed by the high-court of justice to inspect the parts about White-hall for a convenient place for the king's execution: Having made their report, it was determin'd, that a scaffold should be made near the banqueting-house for that purpose; and 'twas order'd to be cover'd with black. The same day, Jan. 29th, about threescore of the commissioners signed a warrant for the king's execution, directing it to colonel Hacker, colonel Hunks, and colonel Phayer, or either of them. Cromwell's name stood the third in this warrant, Bradshaw, and lord Grey of Groby only stasidning before him. The same day the king's children waited on him to take their leave of him. An extraordinary ambassador from the states had his audience in the house of commons; whose errand was to intercede with them for the king's life, and to maintain a good correspondence between England and the United Provinces. The next day, being the 30th of January, about eight a clock in the morning, his majesty was with a guard brought from St. James's through the park to White-hall; where having staid about two hours in a private room, he was led to the scaffold out of a window of the banqueting-house: And having made a speech, and taken off his George, he kneeled down

The exec-  
ution of  
the king.

1648. at the block, and the executioner at one blow sever'd his head from his body.

CAPTAIN Hewlet was condemned after the restoration, for cutting off the king's head, or at least for being one of the persons who stood mask'd upon the scaffold, though several creditable witnesses depos'd, that *Gregory Brandon*, the common hangman, had confessed and own'd that he executed the king, and that he affirm'd as much to the lord *Capel*, when he suffer'd by the same ax; and captain *Hewlet* offer'd to make it appear, that he was not then upon the scaffold, nor near it, nay, that he was seiz'd and secur'd for refusing to be there. Notwithstanding this, *Hewlet* was found guilty by the jury; but was repriev'd: And if we may believe what *Lilly* writes in his *own life*, it was the resolute *Joyce* (who seiz'd the king at *Holmby*) that struck the fatal stroke. The account that *Lilly* gives, is as follows. "The next Sunday but one after *Charles* "the First was beheaded, *Robert Spavin*, secretary "to the lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, invited him- "self to dine with me, and brought *Anthony Pier-* "son and several others along with him to dinner. "Their principal discourse was, who it was that "beheaded the king: One said it was the common "hangman; another, *Hugh Peters*; others were "also nominated, but none concluded. *Robert* "Spavin, as soon as dinner was done, took me by "the hand, and carrying me to the South window, "said, *These are all mistaken, they have not nam'd* "the man that did the fact; it was lieutenant-colonel "Joyce: I was in the room, when he fitted him- "self for the work, stood behind him when he did it, "and when done, went in again with him. There's "no man knows this but my master *Cromwell*, com- "missary *Ireton*, and myself."

His behaviour and character. THE king, in all his sufferings, shewed a calm and compos'd firmness, which amaz'd all people; and the rather, because 'twas not natural to him.

He

1648.

He had many indignities offered to him, especially during his trial ; but he bore them all with a true greatness of mind, without disorder, or any kind of affectation. Thus, as bishop *Burnet* observes, he died greater than he had liv'd, and shew'd that, which has been often remarked of the whole family of the *Stuarts*, that they bore misfortunes better than prosperity. He was a prince of great devotion and piety, remarkable for his temperance and chastity, and an utter enemy to all kind of debauchery ; and if he had any personal faults, they were much overweighed by his virtues. Happy were it for him, if his government had been as free from blame. The rock on which he split, was an immoderate desire of power, beyond what the constitution allowed. His reign both in peace and war, was a continual series of errors : He was out of measure bent on following his humour ; but unreasonably feeble to those whom he trusted, especially the queen. His friends regretted the ascendant she had over him on many occasions ; and others taxed him with the character of an uxorious husband. He had certainly a fixed aversion to popery ; but was much inclin'd to a middle way between the Protestants and Papists ; whereby he lost the one without gaining the other. In short, his whole conduct was such, as verified this maxim, *That errors in government have ruin'd more princes than personal vices.*

THUS have we got over this dark scene, in which our lieutenant-general is commonly supposed to be chiefly concern'd. But as 'tis not strange he should, if the story of the king's dealing deceitfully with him be true ; so it may more reasonably be concluded, that his son-in-law *Ireton*, rather than he, was the person who chiefly influenc'd in these proceedings. I know *Ireton* is supposed all along to have acted by *Cromwell's* directions ; but whether he did or no, may, I think, in many cases be justly quæstio-

1648. questioned. *Ireton* was certainly a zealous commonwealth's-man, which party was always averse to any treaty with the King; and though he with *Cromwell* was in such a treaty, yet *Ludlow* thinks he never really intended to close with the king; but only to lay his party asleep, whilst they were contesting with the Presbyterian interest in parliament; but he says no such thing of *Cromwell*, whom he seems all along to be angry with, for his design of making an agreement with the king, being himself utterly averse to it, and supposing *Cromwell's* main end was to gratify his own ambition; which is not unlikely; and yet he might have been in earnest in the treaty, and also have design'd the publick good. *Cromwell* was certainly no commonwealth's-man, though he was forc'd to humour, and in many things actually to comply with the party; and as the agitators and their off-spring the levellers, who were no other than the commonwealth's-men in the army, and whom it is likely *Cromwell* at first might make use of to bring about some of his designs, were the original contrivers and chief actors in the king's death; so whatever hand *Cromwell* had in it, seems to be chiefly owing to their fury and desperate resolutions, which made him apprehensive of the greatest danger, if he did not comply with their designs; though at the same time, the contradictions that appear'd in the king's conduct, might the more easily incline him to join purposes with them. In short, what with the danger that threaten'd his person, if he had persisted to oppose the designs of the levellers; what with the enthusiasm, that was so habitual to him; and what with the consideration of the king's past misgovernment, which had been the original cause of all the evils the nation had suffer'd, and the fear of the like happening for the future, if he should be restor'd; he having discover'd himself to be of a very inconstant and wavering, not to say equivocating temper; *Cromwell*

1648.

was at length so wrought upon, as to think it necessary, and so lawful, to take off the king; in which towards the last he seem'd to be pretty active, tho' always in some doubt about it. We are expressly told, he at first shew'd some repugnance to so black an undertaking, as my author calls it, and seem'd to shew his abhorrence of it, and not to surmount it, as he said himself; but only because he saw that the providence of God and the necessity of the times, had inspir'd the army to make so terrible a sacrifice; but that that sacrifice, after all, was the only one that could save the state and religion. And I cannot here omit what bishop *Burnet* says of this matter: He tells us, that *Ireton* was the person that drove on the king's trial and death, and that *Cromwell* was all the while in some suspence about it. " *Ireton*, says he, had the principles and the temper of a *Cassius* in him: He stuck at nothing that might have turn'd *England* to a commonwealth; and he found out *Cook* and *Bradshaw*, two bold lawyers, as proper instruments for managing it." And we are informed by others, that *Ireton* was the person, who wrought upon *Fairfax*, and manag'd the affair of the army's remonstrance, and purging the parliament, and brought it about. To conclude, tho' I am far from pretending to justify the whole of *Cromwell's* conduct in these extraordinary transactions; yet I cannot but think, that a greater load of guilt and infamy is usually laid to his share, than he really deserv'd.

THE



THE  
L I F E  
O F  
OLIVER CROMWELL.

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P A R T II.

*Containing an account of his actions  
and behaviour, from the time of the  
KING's death, to the forcible disso-  
lution of the long PARLIAMENT.*

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C H A P. I.

*From the KING's death, to Cromwell's arrival  
in Ireland.*

1648.

A com-  
mon-  
wealth go-  
vernment  
set up.

**H**AVING seen the actions of this wonderful man, during the life of king *Charles*, let us now view him under the commonwealth government: But first it may be proper to observe, how this government was establish'd. The first thing the parliament (for so the remnant of the house of commons now call'd themselves) did after the king's death, was to pass an act, ordaining, “ That no person whatsoever do “ presume to proclaim, declare, publish, or any “ ways promote *Charles Stuart*, son of the late “ *Charles*,

“ Charles, commonly call'd the prince of Wales,  
“ or any other person, to be king or chief magistrate of *England* or *Ireland*, &c. without the free  
“ consent of the people in parliament, first had,  
“ and signified by a particular act or ordinance  
“ for that purpose; under pain of being adjudg'd a  
“ traitor.” Then they made another act, “ That  
“ such as had assented to the Vote, *That the king's*  
“ *concessions were a ground for the house to proceed*  
“ *to a Settlement*, should not be re-admitted to sit  
“ as Members.” These therefore were commonly call'd the *secluded members*.

Soon after, Feb. 5. they voted *the house of Peers to be useless and dangerous*, and an act was accordingly pass'd for abolishing it, tho' *Cromwell* is said to have appear'd for them. And to remove all that stood in the way of their design'd common-wealth, they resolv'd and declar'd, “ That  
“ it had been found by experience, that the office  
“ of a King in this nation, was unnecessary, bur-  
“ densome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety,  
“ and publick interest of the nation; and there-  
“ fore it should be utterly abolish'd.” Then the form of government was declar'd to be a *Commonwealth*; and a *council of state* was appointed, consisting of forty persons, whereof *Cromwell* was one; to whom power was given, to command and settle the militia of *England* and *Ireland*, to order the fleet, and set forth such a naval power, as they should think fit; to appoint magazines and stores for *England* and *Ireland*, and to dispose of them for the service of both nations, as they thought proper. And they were to sit and execute these powers for the space of one whole year. And now all writs formerly running in the king's name, were to be issued out in the names of *the keepers of the liberty of England*. And a new oath, or engagement, was prepar'd, to be true and faithful to the government establish'd without king or house of peers; all

1648. all who refus'd to take it, to be uncapable of holding any place or office in church or state. If the reader is curious of knowing what persons compos'd the council of state for this first year, they were as follows: *John Bradshaw*, Esq; president, earl of *Denbigh*, earl of *Mulgrave*, earl of *Pembroke*, earl of *Salisbury*, lord *Grey*, lord *Grey of Groby*, lord *Fairfax*, *John Lisle*, Esq; —— *Rolles*, Esq; *Oliver St. John*, Esq; *John Wild*, Esq; *Bulstrode Whitelock*, Esq; lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, major-general *Skippon*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *William Massam*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Sir *John Dauvers*, Sir *William Armine*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Sir *William Constable*, *Alexander Popham*, *William Purefoy*, *Isaac Pennington*, *Rowland Wilson*, *Edmund Ludlow*, *William Heveningham*, *Robert Wallop*, *Henry Marten*, *Anthony Stapley*, *John Hutchinson*, *Valentine Walton*, *Thomas Scot*, *Dennis Bond*, *Luke Robinson*, *John Jones*, *Cornelius Holland*, Esqs;

*Another High court of Justice.* THE new common-wealth being thus settled and secur'd, another *High court of Justice* is now erected for the trial of delinquents. Before this court the duke of *Hamilton*, the earl of *Holland*, the earl of *Norwich*, the lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen*, being brought, receiv'd sentence of death, for being concern'd in the late invasion and insurrections. After judgment given, they petition'd the commons; and so their reprieve or their execution was put to the vote of the house; and duke *Hamilton*, and the lord *Capel* were cast, and Sir *John Owen* sav'd by a considerable majority; as the earl of *Holland* was cast, and the earl of *Norwich* sav'd, by the single vote of the speaker, the house being before equally divided as to them; so that *Hamilton*, *Holland* and *Capel* were soon after beheaded in the *Palace-yard* at *Westminster*. It must be remember'd here, that when the lord *Capel*'s petition, which his lady deliver'd, was read

Crom-  
well's  
speech a-  
gainst the  
lord Ca-  
pel.

in the house; many spoke in his favour, and said, that he had never deceiv'd or betray'd them, but had always freely and resolutely declar'd for the king: And *Cromwell*, who knew him very well, spoke so many things to his honour, and profess'd so much respect for him, that all believ'd he was safe, till he concluded, " That his affection for " the publick so out-weigh'd his private friend, " ship, that he could not but tell them, that the " question was now, *Whether they would preserve* " *the most bitter and most implacable enemy they had*: " That he knew well, that the lord *Capel* would " be the last man in *England*, that would aban- " don the royal interest; that he had great cou- " rage, industry and generosity; that he had ma- " ny friends who would always adhere to him; " and that as long as he liv'd, what condition so- " ever he was in, he would be a thorn in their " sides: And therefore, for the good of the com- " mon-wealth, he should give his vote against the " petition." It ought also to be remember'd, that Sir *John Owen*'s reprieve was owing in great mea- sure to the generosity and good nature of commis- sary-general *Ireton*, who observing there had been no application made, nor a word said in behalf of *Owen*, spoke for him thus, as lord *Clarendon* tells us, " There have been great endeavours and soli- " citations us'd to save all those lords; but there's " a commoner, another condemn'd person, for " whom no man hath said a word, nor has he " himself so much as petition'd: Therefore I de- " sire that Sir *John Owen* may be preserv'd by the " meer motive and goodness of the house;" which was assented to.

ABOUT this time, several things were declar'd by the parliament to be high-treason, and this among the rest, viz. For any soldiers of the army to contrive the death of their general, or *lieutenant-general*; or endeavour to raise mutinies in the army.

1648. A little before this, *Cromwell* and his son-in-law *Ireton* went along with *Whitelock* from the council of state, and supp'd at his house. Here they were very chearful, and seem'd extremely well pleas'd; and *Ireton*, and related many wonderful observations of God's providence, in the course of the war, and in the affair of the army's coming to *London*, and seizing the members of the house. Having thus discours'd together till midnight, they return'd home, and in their passage their coach was stop'd, and they were examin'd by the guards. They presently told their names; but the captain of the guards would not believe them, and threaten'd to carry these two great officers to the court of guard. Hereupon *Ireton* grew a little angry, but *Cromwell* made himself merry with the soldiers, gave them twenty shillings, and commended them and their captain for doing their duty. And they afterwards confess'd that they knew *Cromwell* and *Ireton* well enough, and were more strict with them than with others, to let them see they were careful of their duty; which they believ'd these great men came at that time on purpose to observe.

1649.  
Council  
of agita-  
tors to be  
abolish'd,  
which oc-  
casions  
fresh dis-  
turbance  
in the ar-  
my.

MATTERS being now brought to some degree of settlement, it was thought fit to abolish the council of agitators in the army; lest they, who had been the chief authors in all the late changes, should now take it in their heads to carry matters further than the present rulers cared they should. But these agitators had tasted too much of power, to be willing to be stripp'd of it; but at the same time made a wrong computation of their own strength by the great things they had formerly effected, not considering that their superior officers were now wholly united with the parliament, and entirely concurred with them, in carrying on the same designs. They presently drew up a petition to the lord general *Fairfax* and his council of officers, against the design of abolishing them; but

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by a council of war, the subscribers of this petition were sentenc'd to ride with their faces towards the horses tails before the heads of their several regiments, with their faults written on their breasts, to have their swords broken over their heads, and so to be cashier'd the army. Which sentence was accordingly executed upon them in the great Palace-yard at Westminster, to the great exasperation of the Levelling-party, who were resolv'd not so to be suppress'd.

FOR not long after, there being a rendezvous at *Cromwell Ware*, several regiments, among whom was *Cromwell's* of horse, in pursuance of the foremention'd petition, and to be distinguish'd from others, wore white in their hats, as they had done once before. *Cromwell* having notice of the design, order'd two regiments of horse from distant quarters, who knew nothing of this combination, to appear there likewise. Being all drawn up, *Cromwell*, with an angry and down look, rides round, and on a sudden commands one of those two regiments to encompass a regiment of foot; which being done accordingly, he call'd four men by their names out of the body, and with his own hands committed them to the marshal; and immediately calling a council of War (whilst the rest of their confederates flunked their white colours into their pockets, and trembled at this boldness of *Cromwell*) try'd and condemn'd them. But they had the favour from the court of casting lots for their lives, two only to die; and the two whose lot it was to die, were presently shot to death upon a green bank by the other two in sight of the army. A little before, another leveller, one *Lockyer*, a trooper, for promoting the engagement and agreement, was shot to death in *St. Paul's Church-yard*.

NOTWITHSTANDING these executions, this humour still continu'd in the army, and began to break out with greater violence, upon the parliament's voting,

1649. voting, that eleven regiments, by lot, should be sent over into *Ireland*. This enrag'd them to that degree, that, finding that instead of reaping the advantages they had promis'd themselves, they were to be expos'd to fresh hazards, and the miseries of a starving war, they peremptorily declar'd against it, as a contrivance to divide them, and gave out, that they would not go for *Ireland*, till the liberties of the people, for which they first engag'd in war, were secur'd ; requiring, That the often promised *representative* of the nation might be chosen. And finding that discourses and representations were to no purpose, they began to have recourse to arms. Accordingly colonel *Scroop's* regiment, having laid aside their officers, march'd with twelve troops from their quarters at *Salisbury*, towards *Burford* in *Oxfordshire*, in order to a conjunction with those of *Harrison*, *Ireton* and *Skippon*, and a party under one *Thompson*, then lying near *Banbury*. This they had effected, if the extraordinary diligence of *Cromwell* and *Fairfax* had not prevented them : For posting forty miles in one day, they overtook them at *Abingdon*, and first offer'd them a treaty, wherein satisfaction might be mutually given ; and till that were done, that neither party might come within ten miles of each other ; to which they agreed : But the *Levellers*, under *Thompson*, who had increas'd their numbers to about five thousand, march'd to *Burford* ; where, while they were securely resting themselves, and their horses put into the adjoining meadows, about twelve o'clock at night colonel *Reynolds* fell into their quarters, routed them, and took four hundred of them prisoners, and nine hundred of their horses. *Thompson* took shelter in a wood near *Milton*, where he fought manfully till he was slain. Of the prisoners three only were executed, who dy'd very resolutely. Cornet *Den* expressing his grief and sorrow, was repriev'd at the instant of execution ;

which

which his companions beholding from the leads of the church, were saluted with a message of decimation, *i. e.* that every tenth man should die: But at Cromwell's desire they were all pardon'd, and sent home to their own houses. Thus was this insurrection quell'd on the fifteenth day of May.

1649.

AFTER this, the lord-general Fairfax and lieutenant-general Cromwell visited Oxford, (the university having sent a deputation to invite them thither) where they were nobly treated, and made doctors of the civil law; at which time also, Sir Hardress Waller and Mr. Rushworth, with eight colonels, were created masters of arts. Then they visited Portsmouth, from whence they return'd to London in triumph, and receiv'd new marks of honour from the parliament. And now, to promote a lasting union between the three principles of power, the parliament, the army, and the city, it was contriv'd, that the speaker, with the house, the general, with the chief officers, and the council of state, should, after hearing two sermons, be magnificently feasted at *Grocers-hall*, by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council. This was accordingly done, on the 7th of June; the lord-mayor, as 'twas usual towards kings, meeting *Lenthal* the speaker, with the rest of the members, at *Temple-bar*, and there resigning the sword to him; which having again receiv'd, he carry'd before him into the city. And having heard two sermons at *Christ-church*, preach'd by Mr. Goodwin and Dr. Owen, they proceeded to *Grocers-hall* to dinner. The speaker sat first; next to him the lord-mayor; then, the earl of *Pembroke* call'd to the lord commissioner *Whitelock* to sit down as the eldest commissioner of the *Great-seal*: *Whitelock* excus'd it, and desir'd the earl to sit down first: But he said aloud, *What, do you think I will sit down before you? I have given place heretofore to bishop Williams, to my lord Coventry, and to my lord Littleton; and you*

He with  
the gene-  
ral is  
treated at  
*Oxford.*

And at  
*London.*

1649. have the same place they had ; and as much honour belongs to the place under a commonwealth, as under a king ; and you are a gentleman as well born and bred as any of them. The earl oblig'd Whitelock to take precedence of him, and sat down himself next to him ; then the lord president of the council of state and the other commissioners of the Great-seal ; then the earl of *Salisbury* and the lord *Howard* ; after them lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, and other members of parliament, and of the council of state, &c. The musick at this feast, which was very sumptuous, was only drums and trumpets ; no healths were drank, nor any incivility pass'd. At this entertainment, there was presented by the city to the lord-general a large and weighty bason and ewer of beaten gold ; and to lieutenant-general *Cromwell* three hundred pounds in plate, and two hundred pieces in gold.

*CROMWELL* was now just entering upon a new scene of action, and making preparations for the reducing of *Ireland* to the power of the new commonwealth : But before we describe his memorable exploits in that kingdom, 'twill be proper to take a short view of the posture of affairs there for some time past, and the condition they were now in.

Some account of the Affairs of Ireland before *Cromwell's going over*. THE *Irish* rebellion, the most barbarous and bloody that was ever executed in any part of the world, in which so many thousand Protestants were most inhumanly massacred, broke out in *October* 1641, which tho' it had been contriv'd with such secrecy, and acted with such outrage, yet the city of *Dublin* was wonderfully preserv'd by divine providence, to be an asylum for such as escap'd thither, to avoid the fury of their bloody persecutors. Many of the poor Protestants came over also into *England*, hoping there to find shelter from the merciless enemy : But this proved little comfort to those distressed souls ; for here they found, to the increase

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increase of their grief, that *England* was preparing on all sides to act the same upon one another, which the Papists had done against them in *Ireland*. But tho' the difference between the king and parliament increas'd every day; yet 'twas so ordered, that some regiments were sent over into *Ireland*, to stop the proceedings of the rebels. After the war had been carry'd on for some time in *England*, the king finding his affairs in a declining condition, and that the parliament gain'd ground upon him, he in 1643, order'd the marquis of *Ormond* to make a truce with the *Irish*, that he might have the assistance of those *English* forces that were in *Ireland*, in his war with the parliament. A cessation of arms was accordingly agreed upon; but the *Irish* infamously broke the articles of it: For the *English* being now gone over to *England*, they on a sudden rose against the marquis, and had surpriz'd him, if he had not been inform'd before of their design, and escap'd into *Dublin*: And being in no condition to defend it, but obliged to deliver it up either to the *English* sent by the parliament, or to the *Irish*, he gave it up to the *English* (who made colonel *Jones* governour) and came over to the king, at what time he was carry'd from place to place by the army.

THE marquis had not been long gone, but the treacherous *Irish* being terrify'd with the news, that the parliament was sending over an army thither, requested the prince, to whom the marquis had repair'd, to send him back, engaging themselves to submit absolutely to his majesty's authority, and to obey the marquis as his lieutenant, and join with him to expel the parliament's forces. The marquis being accordingly arriv'd, entered into most dishonourable articles with the *Irish*, who having made a confederacy among themselves, soon became more formidable by the accession of the lord *Inchiquin*, president of *Munster*, and the *Scots* in the province of *Ulster*. Before the arrival of the

1649. marquis, the pope's nuncio, who had been sent over to promote the grand rebellion, and had of late behav'd himself so tyrannically, that he became intolerable even to the *Irish* themselves, was expell'd the kingdom: And now the royalists and *Irish* being united, *Ireland* seem'd in a fair way of being entirely reduc'd to the king's obedience. But *Owen Roe Oneal*, the best commander among the *Irish*, not liking the articles of the confederacy, refused to be included in it, and joining with the parliament's forces reliev'd *Londonderry*, then besieged by the lord *Ardes*. *Ormond* however and the confederates having a numerous army, the whole kingdom was almost reduced by them, excepting *Londonderry*, govern'd by Sir *Charles Coot*, and *Dublin* the chief city, wherein was colonel *Jones* with no very considerable force, besides that his men were frequently deserting their colours. The enemy with their formidable army was now marching to besiege it, and sent many threatening summons, requiring a speedy surrender of the place; which notwithstanding, thro' the vigilance of the governour, held out to the confusion of the besiegers. But his present difficulties, and the great danger he was in, made him renew his instances to the parliament, in the most pressing manner for speedy supplies of men and provisions; declaring, that else all would be lost. Hereupon the parliament, not insensible of his condition, began to provide for the relief of *Ireland* with all possible expedition: And appointed commissary-general *Ireton*, colonel *Scroop*, colonel *Horton*, major-general *Lambert*, with their four regiments of horse; colonel *Ewer*, colonel *Cook*, colonel *Hewson*, and colonel *Dean*, with theirs of foot, and five troops of dragoons, all old soldiers of the *English* army, for the laid service: And besides these, other regiments were rais'd by beat of drum, to make up a sufficient force for effectually carrying on so great a work.

THE

THE forces being in a great degree of readiness, 1649.  
the parliament began now to think of a general for  
*Cromwell*  
this expedition; and having had sufficient experience of *Cromwell's* great abilities, and knowing no man so fit for the employment, they desired him to accept of it; who not without some seeming reluctance at last undertook it, and after many humble expressions of his own unworthiness and disability to support so great a charge, and of the entire resignation of himself to their commands, and absolute dependence upon God's providence, he acquainted them, that he submitted to their good will and pleasure, and desired them to hasten all the necessary preparations; "For he confess'd that kingdom to be reduced to so great streights, that he was willing to engage his own person, purely for the difficulties which appeared in the expedition; and more out of hope to give some obstruction to the present success of the rebels, and to preserve to the commonwealth some footing in that kingdom, than from any expectation that he should be able, with his strength, in any signal degree to prevail over them."

THE house was so well pleas'd with this answer, *He is*  
that immediately after, on the 22d of June, he had made  
*lord-lieutenant of Ireland.*  
pompous commission given him in Latin and English, to command all forces to be sent into Ireland, and to be lord-governour both as to civil and military affairs in that kingdom, for three years: And colonel *Jones* was made lieutenant-general of the horse. From the very minute of his receiving this charge, *Cromwell* us'd an incredible expedition in the raising of money, providing of shipping, and drawing the forces together for this enterprize. The soldiers march'd with great speed to the rendezvous at *Milford-Haven*, there to expect the new lord-deputy.

ABOUT this time, *Cromwell* had a remarkable interview with the lord *Brogbill*; who having form'd

1649. a design of deserting the parliament's service, as the earl of Inchiquin had done, came privately to *London*, intending to go to the king in *France*. He was no sooner come to *London*, but a gentleman came to him from the lord governour *Cromwell*, to acquaint him that he would pay him a visit, if he knew when he would be at leisure; at which *Brogbill* was exceedingly surpriz'd, having never had any acquaintance with him; and told the messenger he suppos'd he was mistaken in the person he was sent to: But the gentleman convincing him he was not, the lord *Brogbill* own'd who he was, and said he would not give his excellency the trouble to come to him, but he would wait upon him. The messenger had not been long gone, before *Cromwell* came himself, and after compliments pass'd, desired to speak with his lordship in private; when he told him, *He had a great respect for him, and was therefore come to acquaint him with something that very nearly concerned him, and to give him his advice upon it.* He then told him, *that the council of state were inform'd of his design in crossing the water* (which the lord *Brogbill* had communicated to two or three trusty friends only) *that instead of going to the Spaw he designed to go to the king and take a commission from him to act against the parliament in Ireland: That the council had good proof of what he said, and could produce copies of his letters to that purpose; upon which it was resolved to send him to the Tower; which had been done, if himself had not prevented it, and obtained time to confer with him, to see if he could be induc'd to alter his purpose.* The lord *Brogbill* seeing it would be to no purpose to evade the matter, ask'd *Cromwell's* pardon, thank'd him for his good offices, and requested him to advise him. *Cromwell* reply'd, *That the council of state and he were no strangers to his actions in Ireland; and the subduing of the rebels being committed to him, he was authoriz'd by the council*

His re-  
markable  
interview  
with the  
lord Brog-  
bill.

1649.

council to offer him a general command, if he would serve in that war. Broghill readily accepted this offer, and gave his word and honour, that he would be faithful to the parliament: And so having received a commission to be master of the ordnance, and to command in Munster, he embarked for Ireland, where he was no sooner arriv'd, but several gentlemen, who had served under him in those wars, join'd him; so that he soon formed a troop of horse, and within a little time after, rais'd a regiment of 1500 foot, which were ready to join the lord governour Cromwell at his landing.

His excellency having dispatch'd his business with the parliament, on the 10th of July left London, setting forward in great state, being drawn in a coach with six horses, and attended by many members of the parliament and council of state, with the chief officers of the army; his life-guard consisting of eighty men, who had formerly been commanders, bravely mounted and accouter'd, both themselves and servants. Thus he was conducted to Brentford, where those gentlemen, who accompany'd him, took their leaves, wishing a prosperous issue to this undertaking; whom he answered again with great civility and respect. From hence he posted directly for Bristol, to take order for the train of artillery, and many other matters necessary for the hastening his men on shipboard.

FROM Bristol he takes his way into Wales, having sent over three regiments before, viz. colonel Reynold's of horse, colonel Venable's and colonel Tonk's of foot. These were shipped from Chester, and the ports thereabout; and being favoured with a prosperous gale, quickly arriv'd at the port of Dublin, where they were welcomed with unspeakable joy and gladness. The citizens spared for nothing that might be any relief to the sea-sick soldiers, hoping that the recovery of their health might be a means of enlarging their liberties, who now

He sends succours before him.

1649. now were almost wholly confin'd within the narrow compass of their city walls. And they were not at all disappointed of their expectation: For *Jones* having his courage much heighten'd by the coming over of these supplies, now car'd not for the enemy's bravadoes, but resolved to remove them farther off; which he in a very little time effected.

By which means *Ormond's* army is totally routed.

For on the 2d of *August* he discovered a party of the enemy, about fifteen hundred foot besides horse, drawn down to their new work at *Baggot-rath*, a place about a quarter of a mile eastward of the city upon the sea. Hence they design'd to run their trenches towards the city-works, thereby to secure those forts which were begun to be rais'd towards the water, that they might hinder the landing of the forces and supplies expected from *England*. But *Jones* and *Reynolds*, with the rest of the commanders in the city, observing the enemy's design, judged it necessary to interrupt them: And so presently drawing out twelve hundred horse and four thousand foot, they soon enter'd the enemy's new works, and fell upon them with so much fury, that they routed the horse at the first charge; and soon after cut in pieces the greatest part of their foot, and took most of the rest prisoners. The report of this disaster soon reach'd the general *Ormond's* ears, who was then playing at tables in his tent; and understanding also, that *Jones* was making towards his main army, he wished the rebels would come that he might have some sport with them, and so went on with his game: But he was soon forced to leave it; for *Jones* with his men following the chase to *Rathmims*, where *Ormond's* camp was, engag'd his whole army, and after two hours fight, totally routed them with a very great slaughter. Four thousand were reckoned to be kill'd on the place and in the chase, and above two thousand five hundred taken prisoners, of whom several were

men

men of quality, and amongst the rest *Ormond's* own brother, himself very narrowly escaping. They left all their great guns, ammunition, and provisions, behind them; and withal a rich camp to reward the valiant soldiers; who with the spoil of it so trick'd themselves up, that when they returned to *Dublin*, many of the officers did not know their own men, they were grown so fine. This great victory was obtained with the loss of few, not above twenty of the parliament's party being missing after the fight was over. The success was the more remarkable, because unexpected on both sides; *Jones* with his handful of men being led on step by step to a compleat victory, whereas their utmost design, at the beginning of the action, was only to beat the enemy from *Baggot-rath*. *Ormond's* party were so surpriz'd, that they had not time to carry off their money, which lay at *Rathfarnham*, for the paying of their army, where *Jones* seiz'd four thousand pounds very seasonably for the payment of his men. The marquis upon this defeat fled to *Kilkenny* with a considerable number: Others betook themselves to *Drogheda* or *Tredagh*, whither he soon came himself with three hundred horse, and in very good time; for lieutenant-general *Jones* hoping the town might be so terrified with this overthrow as to surrender, hasten'd thither with some horse to summon it; but having notice of *Ormond's* coming, he marched back to *Dublin*.

THE lord-governour *Cromwell* being at *Milford-Haven*, receiv'd the full account of *Ormond's* defeat, when he rather expected to hear of the loss of *Dublin*, and was in great perplexity what to do. But the clouds being dispers'd upon the news of the great success his party had that he sent before, he deferr'd not to embark his whole army. On the thirteenth of *August*, he set sail from *Milford-Haven* with thirty-two ships, wherein was the van of his army; *Ireton* soon following him with the main body

1649. body in forty two other vessels, *Hugh Peters*  
 with twenty sail bringing up the rear. With a  
 Arrives at very prosperous wind they soon arriv'd at *Dublin*,  
*Dublin.* where they were receiv'd with all possible demon-  
 stration of joy, the great guns echoing forth their  
 welcome, and the acclamations of the people re-  
 sounding in every street. *Cromwell* being come in-  
 to the city, where the concourse of the people was  
 very great (they all flocking to see him, whom be-  
 fore they had heard so much of) at a convenient  
 place he made a stand, and with his hat in his hand  
 made a speech to them, telling them, " That as  
 " God had brought him thither in safety, so he  
 " doubted not but, by his divine providence, to  
 " restore them all to their just liberties and pro-  
 " perties; and that all those, whose hearts affec-  
 " tions were real for the carrying on of the great  
 " work against the barbarous and blood-thirsty  
 " Irish, and all their adherents and confederates,  
 " for the propagating of the gospel of Christ, the  
 " establishing of truth and peace, and restoring  
 " that bleeding nation to its former happiness and  
 " tranquillity, should find favour and protection  
 " from the parliament of *England*, and from him-  
 " self, and withal receive such rewards and gra-  
 " tuities, as should be answerable to their merits." This speech was entertain'd with great applause by  
 the people, who all cry'd out, *That they would live  
 and die with him.*

## C H A P. II.

*His actions in Ireland, and return from thence.*

THE army having refresh'd themselves, and  
 the lord-lieutenant having settled both the  
 military and civil affairs of *Dublin*, he drew his  
 forces out of the city to a general muster, where  
 appear'd a compleat body of fifteen thousand horse  
 and

1649.

and foot; out of which were drawn twelve regiments, containing in all about ten thousand stout resolute men, for the present service. With this army, furnish'd with all things necessary, he advanced towards *Tredagh*, a town well fortified, with a garrison in it of two thousand five hundred foot, and three hundred horse, the flower of the royal army, under the command of Sir *Arthur Aston*, a brave experienced soldier. The marquis of *Ormond* had foreseen, that this place, by reason of its neighbourhood and situation, would be first attempted, it not being likely that the enemy would leave so considerable a fortress behind them; and he was in hopes he should have time to recruit his scatter'd army, and repair the loss of the late defeat, while *Cromwell* should be wasting his forces against a town they believ'd could hold out a month, and before that time be reliev'd: But the event shew'd how much he was mistaken.

*CROMWELL* was no sooner come before *Tredagh*, but, observing the rules of war, he summon'd the governour to surrender; which summons was slighted, and look'd upon rather as a matter of formality, than that he did believe to have the town upon it. Hereupon the lord-governour order'd all things for a quick dispatch of the siege. *Ayscough's* ships block'd them up by sea; and on the land, the white flag was taken down, and the red ensign display'd before the town. The besieged were not much dismay'd at this, as expecting succour from the marquis of *Ormond*; and they seem'd to be unanimous in this resolution, rather than deliver up the town, to expire with it; as they did not long after.

FOR *Cromwell* being sensible of the mischiefs of long siege, like an impatient conqueror, would not spend time in the common forms of approaches and turnings; but immediately planted a strong battery, which soon levell'd the steeple of a church

on

1649. on the *South* side of the town, and a tower that stood near it. The next day, the battery continuing, the corner tower between the *East* and *South* walls was demolish'd, and two breaches made, which some regiments of foot immediately enter'd; but they were not made low enough for the horse to go in with them. Here the utmost bravery was shewn on both sides, the breaches being not more courageously assaulted than valiantly defended. The enemy within so furiously charg'd those who first enter'd, that they drove them back again faster than they came in. *Cromwell*, who was all this while standing at the battery, observing this, drew out a fresh reserve of colonel *Ewer's* foot, and in person bravely enter'd with them once more into the town. This example of their general inspir'd the soldiers with such fresh courage, that none were able to stand before them; and having now gain'd the town, they made a terrible slaughter, putting all they met with, that were in arms, to the sword; *Cromwell* having expressly commanded not to spare any one that should be found in arms; the design of which was to discourage other places from making opposition; to which purpose the lord-governour wrote to the parliament, *That he believ'd this severity would save much effusion of blood.* *Aston's* men did not fall unreveng'd, for they fought bravely, and desperately disputed every corner of the streets, making the conquerors win what they had by inches. The streets at last proving too hot, they fled to the churches and steeples, and other places of shelter. About an hundred were got into *St. Peter's* church-steeple, resolving there to sell their lives at as dear a rate as possible; but they were all quickly blown up with gun-powder, only one man escaping, who leap'd from the tower: The wind befriending him, he receiv'd no further hurt by the fall than breaking his leg; which *Cromwell's* men seeing, took him

His brave-  
ry and  
conduct  
in that  
action.

1649.

him up, and gave him quarter. In other places, when they refus'd to yield upon summons, strong guards were immediately put upon them to starve them out; which soon had that effect as to make them surrender themselves to the mercy of the conquerors, which was indeed but small; for all the officers were presently knock'd on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers kill'd, and the rest thrust on shipboard for Barbadoes. The governour Sir Arthur Aston, here likewise met his fate, being put to the sword among the rest. And thus was this strong place taken and sack'd in less than a week's time, which the rebellious *Irish* were three whole years in taking. This great action was so surprizing, that *O-Neal*, at the hearing of it, swore a great oath, *That if Cromwell had taken Tredagh by storm, if he should storm hell, he would take it.*

THE dismal destruction of *Tredagh* render'd Many o-  
Cromwell's name formidable to all other places ther places  
round about. Few of them had so much reso- submit to  
lution as to expect a summons to surrender; and him.  
particularly the garrisons of *Trim* and *Dundalk*, bearing the like usage, abandon'd them to the con-  
queror. In this last place their haste was so great,  
that they left their great guns behind them, on the  
platforms. *Cromwell* did not, at that time, carry  
in his conquests any farther northward, but re-  
turn'd to *Dublin*, and march'd with his army to-  
wards *Wexford*, that part lying convenient for sub-  
mitting his army in the southern counties. In his  
march, a place call'd *Killingkerick*, about fourteen  
miles from *Dublin*, being deserted by the enemy,  
he put a party of his men into it. *Arckloe-castle*  
was likewise abandon'd, and many other places  
submitted to him.

ON the 1st of October, *Cromwell* with his army He storms  
came before *Wexford*, and sent a summons to the *Wexford*.  
governour, colonel *David Synnot*, requiring a spee-  
dy

1649. dy surrender. His answer was somewhat dubious, which occasion'd many papers to pass betwixt him and the lord-general *Cromwell*. The governour did this on purpose to protract time until the earl of *Castlehaven* had thrown a party of five hundred foot into the town to reinforce the garrison; and having now receiv'd these recruits, he resolv'd to defend the place as long as he could, and seem'd to defy all attempts that might be made against him. Upon this, *Cromwell* applies himself in good earnest to the work, and bends his greatest force against the castle, knowing, that upon the gaining of that, the town must soon follow. He caus'd a battery to be erected against it, whereby a small breach being made, commissioners were sent from the enemy, to treat about a surrender. In the mean time the guns continued firing, no cessation having been agreed upon; whereby the breach in the castle being made wider, the guard that was appointed to defend it, quitted their post; whereupon some of *Cromwell's* men enter'd the castle, and set up their colours at the top of it. The enemy observing this, quitted their stations in all parts, so that the others getting over the walls, possess'd themselves of the town without any great opposition, and set open the gates for the horse to enter, tho' they could do but little service, all the streets being barr'd with cables. The town being thus enter'd, none were suffer'd to live that were found in arms; and so they cut their way thro' the streets till they came to the market-place, where the enemy fought desperately for some time; but were at last quite broken, and all who were found in arms put to the sword. *Ludlow* says, that the foot pres't the enemy so close, that, crowding to escape over the water, they so over-loaded the boats, that many of them were drowned. Great riches were taken in this town, it being esteem'd by the enemy a place of strength; and some ships were seiz'd in the

1649.

the harbour, which had much interrupted the commerce of that coast. The lord-lieutenant *Cromwell* appointed commissioners to take care of the goods that were found in the town belonging to the enemy, that they might be improv'd to the best advantage for the publick. The reduction of this place was of very considerable advantage to the conquerors, being a port-town, and very convenient for receiving supplies from *England*. And the severity that was exercis'd here, had the same effect with that us'd before at *Drogheda*; the terror spreading into all towns and forts along the coast as far as *Dublin*, spar'd the general the trouble of summoning them.

THE winter now coming on, and it being a very wet season, *Cromwell's* troops suffer'd much from the weather, and the flux then raging amongst them. Many thought these reasons should have oblig'd him for the present to put a stop to his conquests; but he was of another mind, and more in the right than they. The difficulties the marquis *Ormond* met with in bringing a new army into the field, after his late defeat, the ancient disagreement again breaking out between the *Popish* confederates and him, on account of that disaster, the secret intelligence held by *Cromwell* in the province *Munster*, and the mighty affairs that call'd him back over the sea, seem'd to him more powerful motives for continuing the war, than the winter is to interrupt his progress.

BEING thus resolv'd, he marches with his army He reduces *Ross*, a strong town upon the *Barrow*: *ross*. The lord *Taffe* was governour of this place, who had a strong garrison with him; and the better to secure it, *Ormond*, *Gasthaven*, and the lord *Ardes*, their own persons, caus'd fifteen hundred men more to be boated over to reinforce it; *Cromwell's* army all the while looking on, without being able hinder them. However, the lord-governour no

1649. sooner came before the town, but he sent the governour a summons to this effect, " That since his coming into *Ireland* he ever endeavour'd to avoid the effusion of blood, having been before no place, where he did not first send them such terms, as might be for their preservation ; and to continue the like course, he now summons them to deliver up the town to the parliament of *England*." No answer was at present return'd to this summons, till the great guns began to play; when the governour, being apprehensive of the same usage that other garrisons had before met with, was willing to treat ; which being allow'd, they came to this agreement, " That the town be deliver'd up to lord-general *Cromwell*, and they within march away with bag and baggage to *Kilkenny* : " Which fifteen hundred of them accordingly did ; but six hundred of them being *English*, revolted to *Cromwell*.

IN the mean time *Kingsale*, *Cork*, *Youghall*, *Bandon-bridge*, and other garrisons voluntarily declar'd for the conqueror ; which garrisons prov'd of great use to the reduction of *Munster*, and consequently of all *Ireland*. Sir *Charles Coot* and colonel *Venables* were very successful in the north, and the lord *Brogbill* and colonel *Hewson* did good service in other places.

Besieges  
*Duncannon*, and  
retreats  
from  
thence.

*CROMWELL* having made himself master of *Ross*, caus'd a bridge of boats to be laid over the *Barrow*, and his army to sit down before *Duncannon*, a strong fort commanded by colonel *Wogan*. But this place was so well provided with all things necessary, that it was judg'd it would be time lost to tarry long before it. And so the army quickly rose, and march'd away into the county of *Kilkenny*; where the marquis of *Ormond*, being join'd with *Inchequin*, seem'd resolv'd to give *Cromwell* battle. His army was strong both in horse and foot, surpassing *Cromwell's*, which was much weaken'd

by continual duty, difficult marches, the flux, and other diseases. Notwithstanding which, the marquis, upon the approach of his enemy, drew off, without making any attempt, or striking one stroke. Upon which, *Enistegoe*, a little walled town, about five miles from *Ross*, was reduc'd by colonel *Abbot*; and colonel *Reynolds*, with twelve troops of horse, and three of dragoons, march'd up to *Carrick*; where having divided his men into two parts, whilst he amus'd them with one party, he enter'd a gate with the other, taking about a hundred prisoners without the loss of a man.

THE news hereof being brought to the lord-general *Cromwell*, then at *Ross*, where he had continued for some time indispos'd, he immediately march'd away with his army to besiege *Waterford*, in hopes of gaining that important place before his forces should draw into winter-quarters. Being come before it, he presently detach'd a regiment of horse, and three troops of dragoons to reduce *Passage-fort*; which party met with the desir'd success, the fort and castle, with five great guns, and much arms and ammunition, being soon deliver'd to them. But the siege of *Waterford* was not successfully carried on; for *Cromwell* perceiving that the city resolv'd to stand upon their own defence, and it being now *December*, and the weather very wet, he thought it most advisable to draw his army into winter-quarters; where they might be refresh'd against the spring, for the better finishing of the work they had so prosperously begun.

His army  
marches  
into win-  
ter-quar-  
ters.

IN the mean time, a party of the enemy from *Waterford*, and another from *Duncannon*, joining together, besieg'd *Passage-fort*; but being set upon by colonel *Zankey*, they were totally routed, a great many of them being kill'd, and three hundred and fifty taken prisoners. Several other skirmishes were maintai'd with the like success; but the loss of

1649. lieutenant-general *Jones*, who died about this time at *Wexford* of a violent fever, struck a damp upon all. He was a man every way bold and daring, of wonderful courage and resolution, and yet he govern'd his valour with prudence, being not rash, but advised in all his attempts: The army had a great loss of him, and his death was soon follow'd by that of colonel *Wolf*, and scout-master-general *Roe*. Many of the common soldiers had likewise their share in this mortality, but their numbers were recruited by continual supplies sent from *England* by the parliament. And now also the *Irish*, as well as the *British* soldiers, under the marquis of *Ormond*, being allur'd by the successes, and wrought upon by the invitations of the common-wealth, as also deterr'd by the plague that rag'd amongst them, together with the want of pay and necessaries, ran by whole troops to *Cromwell's* camp; who made very great use of the *Irish* animosities, and of the jealousies between them and *Ormond*. He us'd to ask some of the marquis's friends, whom he had taken prisoners, *What the marquis of Ormond had to do with Charles Stuart, and what obligations he had receiv'd from him*; and then would speak of the hard usage his grandfather had met with from king *James*, and the long imprisonment he had sustain'd by him, for not submitting to an extrajudicial determination, and said, *he was confident, if the marquis and he could meet and confer together, they should part very good friends*. And many, who heard these discourses, by his permission, gave the marquis information of all he had said.

He visits  
the seve-  
ral garri-  
sons.

WHILST the army continued in their winter-quarters, the vigilant and active *Cromwell* would not sit still, but visited all the garrisons that were in his possession in *Munster*, and order'd all affairs both military and civil. When he came to *Kingsale*, the mayor of the town (as was usual in other places) deliver'd to him the mace and keys;

he

Many  
from the  
enemy re-  
volt to  
him.

1649.

he return'd not to him again, but gave them to colonel *Stubber* the governour. This was the more taken notice of, because it had not been us'd by the lord-lieutenant; but the reason of this proceeding was, because the mayor was an *Irishman*, and also a papist, and so 'twas not judg'd proper to entrust such a one with the government of so important a place.

ABOUT this time the parliament being apprehensive of the designs that were carrying on against them in *Scotland* in favour of the king, and thinking they might have occasion to make use of *Cromwell* for preventing the mischief that threatened them from thence, resolv'd that he should be sent for over into *England*, ordering the speaker to write a letter to him for that purpose; but it being towards the latter end of *March* before he receiv'd this letter, and it being not his temper to lie long idle, when he knew he had much to do, he proceeded in his work of reducing *Ireland*, and was very successful in it. The month of *January* was He takes hardly expir'd, when the army took the field again the field in two bodies, which he divided on purpose to distress the marquis of *Ormond*. Himself took one party, and another was led by *Ireton*, who march'd away to *Carrick*, in order to reinforce himself by the conjunction of colonel *Reynolds*. These were to march into the enemy's quarters two several ways, and to meet together at a rendezvous near *Kilkenny*. In order to this design, *Cromwell* with his party march'd away over the *Blackwater*, towards the counties of *Limerick* and *Tipperary*. The first place reduc'd by him was a castle call'd *Kilkenny*, upon the borders of the county of *Limerick*. After that, he took *Cloghern-house*, belonging to Sir *Richard Everard*, one of the supreme council of the *Irish*. From thence he march'd to *Roghill*-*castle*, which upon summons was deliver'd up to him. Here with much difficulty he pass'd the river

Several places deliver'd up to him.

1649. ver Shewr, and without delay march'd away to Feathard, a garrison town where one Butler was governour. Being got into the suburbs about ten at night, he sent a trumpet with a summons to the town; but they shot at the trumpet, and being inform'd that the lord-lieutenant was with the party, they said, *That it was not a fit time to send a summons in the night.* Upon this a resolution being taken to storm, the governour thought fit to send two commissioners to treat with the lord-lieutenant; and after one night spent in the treaty, the town was surrender'd the next morning upon articles; which Cromwell the more readily granted them, because he had but few foot, and no great guns nor ladders; and seventeen companies of the Ulster foot were within five miles of the town. The enemy quitted it in some disorder, after which the magistrates sent a petition to the lord-lieutenant, desiring his protection.

*He storms  
and takes  
Calan.*

THE forces having a little refresh'd themselves at Feathard, the general march'd with them from thence to Calan, garrison'd by the enemy. Here he was join'd by Ireton, Reynolds, and Zankey, making up in all a considerable body. The chief strength of Calan consisted in three castles that were in the town; and these the soldiers storm'd one after another, and carry'd them all. Thus the place held out but one day, and paid dear for that short resistance, all who were in arms being put to the sword, except Butler's troops, which surrender'd before the cannon was fired. This so terrify'd some who defended a house about a musquet-shot from the town, that they presently sent to desire liberty to remove to Kilkenny; which the lord-general readily granted. The soldiers having sufficiently furnish'd themselves with the provisions they found in the town, march'd back again to Feathard, by the way, taking the two castles of Cnoetofer, and Bully-nard; after which soon follow'd Kiltennon,

Arsen

*Arsennon, Cober, and Dundrum*, very considerable places.

1649.

THE lord-governour *Cromwell* had now entirely subdued all places of importance, except *Limerick*, *Waterford*, *Clonmell*, *Galloway*, and *Kilkenny*. These were places of great strength, and would take up much time; however, he resolv'd to attempt the last: But fearing the force he had might not be sufficient to carry on the design, he sent orders to colonel *Hewson*, the new governour of *Dublin*, to bring him all the forces he could draw out of the garrisons of *Wexford*, and the other posts he had taken on that side. Accordingly *Hewson*, after having taken *Laughlin-Bridge*, join'd the lord-governour's army near *Gowram*, a populous town, defended by a strong castle, whereof one *Hammond* a *Kentish-man* was governour. Being summoned Reduces to deliver it up, he return'd a very resolute answer, *Gowram.* having great confidence in the valour of his men, who were *Ormond*'s own regiment. Upon this, the great guns began to play, and did such furious execution, that he soon thought it time for him to beat a parley: But it was now too late; for he could obtain no other conditions than these, "That "the common soldiers should have their lives, and "the officers be dispos'd of as should be thought "fit." The place being thus delivered up, to which *Hammond* was enforc'd by the sedition of the soldiers, he and all the commission-officers but one, were the next day shot to death; and the priest, who was chaplain to the popish soldiers in the regiment, hanged.

AFTER this, the lord-governour proceeds in his Besieges design of besieging the city of *Kilkenny*. The gar- and takes rison there required a more then ordinary strength to reduce it, as having been again and again reinforce'd by those who had surrendere'd upon articles the small towns and castles in that county. But *Cromwell*, not at all discourag'd at this, on the 22d of

1650. of March, sent first of all a small party of horse before to make discovery, and shortly after came up with his whole force. Being advanc'd within a mile of the city, he made a stand, and sent a summons to Sir *Walter Butler* the governour, and the corporation, to deliver up the city, for the use of the parliament of *England*. The answer which was return'd the next day not being satisfactory, *Cromwell* made his approaches near to the wall, and caus'd a battery to be erected in the most convenient place for annoying the besieged, and opening an entrance to the besiegers. In the mean time the besieged were not idle; but observing where the enemy bent his greatest strength, endeavour'd there to make the greatest opposition, by raising two retrenchments within, strongly pallisadoing them, and placing some pieces that might play to the best advantage. *Cromwell* however, having made all the necessary preparations, fell furiously to battering the walls; whereby, after making about an hundred shot, a breach was open'd. In the mean while, colonel *Ewer*, with a thousand foot, was order'd to attempt another part of the city, called *Irish-town*; and the better to facilitate this enterprize, the soldiers were order'd to attack the foremention'd breach; which they accordingly did, but were forc'd to retreat with loss. However, the design took effect; for by this means the whole strength of the enemy was held in play, while colonel *Ewer* with his party gain'd *Irish-town*; which they did with very little loss. There was on the other side of the river another small town, or suburbs to the main city, and it was thought convenient to send eight companies of foot to possess themselves of it; which was done without any opposition: And this animated them to endeavour to force a passage over the bridge into the city; but the same misfortune happen'd as before at the breach. However, these desperate attempts occasion'd the governour to reflect more seriously

seriously upon his present circumstances; for the garrison in *Cantwel-castle*, whom he had sent for, had desired passes of the lord-governour *Cromwell* to go beyond sea, and enter themſelves into the ſervice of foreign princes, engaging never to act againſt the parliament of *England*; which request *Cromwell* granted them. But that which moſt of all diſcourag'd the governour, was, that he muſt not only deſend himſelf, but muſt alſo be hiſ own relief, there being no army in the field ſufficient for that purpoſe. These things, together with the conſideration, that the longer he ſtood out the worse he would fare, induc'd him to enter into a treaty; and after a day's debate, they came to an agreement upon the following terms: "First, That the city and caſtle ſhould be deliver'd up to the lord-governour *Cromwell*, with all the arms, ammunition, and publick ſtores. Secondly, The inhabitants of *Kilkenny* to be pro-tected in their persons, goods, and eſtates, from the violence of the foldiery; and ſuch as had a mind to remove, to have liberty ſo to do, three months after the date of the articles. Thirdly, The governour, officers, and ſoldiers to march away with bag and baggage! Fourthly, The city to pay two thouſand pounds as a gratuity to hiſ excellency the lord *Cromwell*'s army."

THUS was the city of *Kilkenny*, which had been the nursery of the late rebellion, and the reſidence of the ſupreme council, reduc'd to the parliament's obedience in leſs than a week's time, and that chiefly by the vigilance, activity, and indefatigable industry of the lord general *Cromwell*; who would always bear a ſhare in the hardships his ſoldiers were expos'd to, and never flinch from them at any time when his perſonal valour was neceſſary; ſo that he frequently laid aside the dignity of a great commander, to act the part of a private ſoldier.

*CROMWELL* stay'd no longer at *Kilkenny* than was neceſſary to ſettle the affairs of that city; after

1650. after which he march'd with the army to Carrick,  
 His letter from thence to proceed upon further action.' Here  
 to the par he wrote a letter to the speaker of the parliament,  
 liament. giving a particular account of the taking of Kilken-  
 ny, and several other places of less importance.  
 And then concerning his coming over into England, he confess'd he had received many private intimations of the parliament's pleasure, as to that matter, and copies of their votes; but all these were but private intimations. He said, that he receiv'd not the speaker's letter till March 22d, which was dated Jan. 8. and then supposed the army to be in winter-quarters, and the time of the year not suitable for present action: Upon which he concludes thus;

" Making this as the reason of your command (*viz.*  
 " the army being in winter-quarters, &c.) and  
 " your forces having been in action ever since  
 " Jan. 29. and your letter which was to be the  
 " rule of my obedience, coming to my hands after  
 " our having been so long in action, with respect  
 " had to the reasons you were pleas'd to use there-  
 " in; and having receiv'd a letter, signed by your-  
 " self of the 26th of Feb. which mentions not a  
 " word of the continuance of your pleasure con-  
 " cerning my coming over; I did humbly conceive  
 " it much consisted with my duty, humbly to beg  
 " a positive signification, what your will is; pro-  
 " fessing (as before the Lord) that I am most ready  
 " to obey your commands herein, with all alaci-  
 " ty; rejoicing only to be about that work which  
 " I am called to by those whom God hath set over  
 " me, which I acknowledge to be you; and fear-  
 " ing only in obeying you, to disobey you. I  
 " most humbly and earnestly beseech you to judge  
 " for me, whether your letter doth not naturally  
 " allow me the liberty of begging a more clear ex-  
 " pression of your command and pleasure; which  
 " when vouchsafed to me, will find most ready  
 " and cheerful observance from, &c."

ABOUT this time, the marquis of *Ormond*, 1650.  
Ormond in  
great dis-  
tress. the lord *Castlehaven*, and the bishop of *Clogher*, reflecting on the desperate condition of their affairs, appointed a meeting in *West-Meath*, with the gentlemen of that county, to consider of some better way to support their cause, which was now almost ruin'd every where. In this meeting *Ormond* propos'd ; " *First*, Whether they were able " to raise such forces, as might be sufficient to " engage with *Cromwell*. *Secondly*, In case they " were not able to fight, whether it were not ne- " cessary with all the forces they could make, to " fall into the *English* quarters, and there to " burn and destroy what they could, that they " might not be able to subsist. *Thirdly*, If this were " not feasible, then whether it were not most con- " venient for them all to join in some propositions " of peace for the whole kingdom ; or every one " for himself, to make his particular application." This last expedient was most approv'd of by some ; but the chief of them being conscious of their own guilt, thought they were not very likely to obtain good conditions, when necessity oblig'd them to be supplicants ; and therefore to molest the *English* in their quarters was judg'd to be most adviseable for them all, thereby to protract time, till they should have a fit opportunity to escape out of the kingdom.

THE lord-lieutenant having well refresh'd his army after the siege of *Kilkenny*, march'd from *Carrick*, and sat down before *Clonmell*, another considerable place, in which was a garrison of two thousand foot, and a hundred and twenty horse. No sooner was the siege form'd but colonel *Reynolds* and Sir *Theophilus Jones* were order'd to march away with a detachment of two thousand five hundred horse, foot, and dragoons, to prevent *Ormond*'s design of falling into the parliament's quarters ; and notice hereof being sent to Sir *Charles*

1650. *Charles Coot*, he thereupon took the field with three thousand men. But the enemy shifting from place to place to avoid fighting, colonel *Reynolds*, that his men might not remain idle, besieged *Tecrogham*. In the mean time, the lord *Brogbill* being detach'd with another party of one thousand four hundred horse and dragoons, and one thousand two hundred foot, to fight the bishop of *Ross*, who with five thousand men, was marching to relieve *Clonmell*, he soon got up with them and totally routed them, killing about seven hundred upon the place, taking twenty captains, lieutenants, and other officers; as also the bishop himself with the standard of the church of *Munster*. The lord *Brogbill's* horse are said to have done the service before the foot came up, and at such a pass, where a hundred musqueteers might have repell'd all the horse in *Ireland*. The bishop was carry'd to a castle which was kept by his own forces, and there hang'd before the walls, in the sight of the garrison; who were so dismay'd at it, that they immediately surrender'd the castle to the parliament's forces. This bishop us'd to say, *There was no way to secure the English, but by hanging them*; and now himself met with the same fate.

And  
hangs  
him.

THESE advantages were a great encouragement to those who lay before *Clonmell*; which the lord-lieutenant us'd more than ordinary industry to reduce, understanding that its defenders were very unanimous, and withal choice men, well armed, and in all respects prepar'd to make a vigorous resistance. Besides, it was govern'd by an active *Irishman*, one *Hugh O-Neal*, who had employ'd all hands in the town for casting up new counter-scarps on the inside of the old walls, and doing every thing else that might tend to secure the place; so that it seem'd impossible to gain it by assault.

HOWEVER, the valiant and active *Cromwell*, whose busines now requir'd a quick dispatch, in regard

regard that his service was likely very soon to be wanted elsewhere, resolv'd to try that course : And so having summon'd the governour to surrender, and receiving no satisfactory answer, he taken by order'd the great guns to be planted ; which did such noble execution, that a breach was very soon open'd, which the besiegers, upon a signal given, courageously enter'd, and met with as gallant a resistance from the besieged ; notwithstanding which the former made good their ground, and maintained a fight for four hours together, with doubtful success, there being a great slaughter on both sides : But at last the enemy was forc'd to quit the place, and betake themselves to flight ; and tho' they were very much favour'd by some hills near the town, yet could they not escape the fury of the victorious soldiers, who killed many of them in the pursuit. An eminent commander in the army, who was himself in this fight, gave this account of it : " That they found in *Clonmell* the stoutest enemy that ever was found by the army in *Ireland* ; and it was his opinion, and of many more, that there was never seen so hot a storm of so long a continuance, and so gallantly defended, neither in *England* nor *Ireland*." The subduing of this place, though with so much difficulty, made such an impression on many more, that in a very little time they submitted without so much as striking a stroke.

WHILE *Cromwell* was thus conquering in one other part of *Ireland*, *Coot* and *Venables* had the like successes in another, and brought all the north under his obedience : The bishop of *Clogher* was here entirely routed, and being taken prisoner, met with the same fate as the bishop of *Ross* ; and in this fight three thousand of the old *Irish* rebels were slain.

THUS the lord-lieutenant was on all hands attended with success ; and he gave a constant account

1650. count of his proceedings to the parliament and council of state, in all his letters exhorting them *to give the glory unto God, to whom it was only due.* His proceeding so prosperously in his affairs, and obtaining thereby so great a sway, occasioned a book to be dispersed about this time, entituled, *The character of king Cromwell*; which, though suppress'd for a libel, is said to have been even receiv'd as a kind of prophecy. And indeed by the good government of the army in *Ireland*, and the great success of it, and the well ordering of the civil affairs of that kingdom, *Cromwell* obtained a very great interest, not only in the officers of the army, both there and here, but likewise in the parliament and council of state, and all their party; only the *Scots* and *Presbyterians* were generally no favourers of him or his proceedings. He was now preparing to take *Waterford* and *Duncannon*, which he had miss'd of before; and had actually block'd

*Cromwell* appoints *Ireton* his deputy. up *Waterford*, when about the middle of *May*, he was by a new order, or rather request of the parliament, obliged to leave the finishing of his so far extended conquests to his son-in-law *Ireton*, whom, for that purpose, he constituted lord-deputy. He had been in *Ireland* about nine months; a very inconsiderable time, if we respect the great work he perform'd therein, which was more than ever any king or queen of *England* was able to do in so many years before.

All *Ireland* in a manner reduced by him.

*WATERFORD* was surrender'd soon after his departure; and so remarkable was the parliament's success in all parts of that kingdom, through the active valour, prudence, and industry of the lord-lieutenant *Cromwell*, and those whom he employ'd under him, that in less than a year's time, they were masters of all but *Limerick*, *Galloway*, and some few garrisons and forces on the *Fastnesses*. Before the lord-governour left the isle, that he might the better weaken the *Irish*, he contriv'd

1650.

triv'd means for transporting no less than forty thousand of them out of the nation, into the service of foreign princes ; of whom few ever return'd again to their native country : So great a scourge was he to that rebellious and blood-thirsty generation.

CROMWELL having appointed *Ireton* his tri-deputy, and visited those places in *Munster*, which had lately submitted to the parliament, with design to settle the civil as well as military affairs of that province ; for which end he made *John Coke*, Esq; chief justice of *Munster* ; and having order'd all things in the best manner that was possible, he embark'd for *England*, and sailed home, as 'twere, in triumph. After a boisterous passage, he landed at *Bristol*, where the great guns were fir'd thrice over at his arrival, and he was welcom'd with many other demonstrations of joy. Hence, without delay, he posts for *London* ; and on *Hounslow-Heath*, was met by the lord-general *Fairfax*, many members of parliament and officers of the army, and multitudes of people, who came out of curiosity to see him, who had made himself so famous, and acquir'd such high renown by his great and valiant actions. Being thus attended, he proceeds on, and coming to *Hyde-Park* is saluted with great guns, and several volleys of shot from colonel *Barkstead's* regiment, which was drawn up in the way for that purpose. Thus in a triumph-ant manner he enter'd the city of *London*, amidst a croud of attendants, friends, citizens, &c. and was receiv'd with great demonstrations of joy. Here 'tis observ'd, that as he did not refuse the honours that were paid to him on this occasion, so he shew'd he had too much good sense to make much account of them ; for as he was passing by *Tyburn*, a certain flatterer pointing to the crouds of people that came to meet him, and saying, *See what a multitude of people come to attend your triumph* ; he

L

anwer'd

1650. answer'd with a smile and very unconcern'd,  
 More would come to see me hang'd. Being conducted to the Cock-pit, which had been prepar'd for his reception, the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and many other persons of quality, paid their visits to him, congratulating the safe arrival of his excellency, and expressing their own and the nation's great obligations to him. Having resumed his place in parliament, the speaker in an elegant speech gave him the thanks of the house, for the great and faithful services he had perform'd for the common-wealth in the nation of Ireland : After which, the lord-lieutenant gave them a full and particular account of the present state and condition of that country.

*Ireton's death and character.* AND here, as it will not fall in my way in the remaining part of this history, I shall conclude this chapter with the death and character of the lord-deputy Ireton, who died about a year and a half after Cromwell's departure. He had proceeded very successfully in his new government and command ; and after the taking of several places, giving articles to some, and making examples of others, he attempted the strong city of Limerick, which after a long siege, at last surrendered to him : But falling sick of the plague here shortly after, he ended his days on the 26th of November, 1651. This man has been highly extolled by some, and as much condemned by others. So far as we have had occasion to mention him in this history, we have given as just an account of his actions and proceedings as we could ; wherein the reader must be left to censure or acquit him as he shall think fit, after we have given this short character of him from Whitelock, who seems the most impartial : " This gentleman, says he, was a person very active and industrious (or, as he says elsewhere, a man of industry and invention) and stiff in his ways and

" pur-

" purposes : He was of good abilities for counsel  
 " as well as action ; and made much use of his  
 " pen, and was very forward to reform the pro-  
 " ceedings in law, wherein his having been bred  
 " a lawyer was an help to him. He was stout in  
 " the field, and wary and prudent in his counsel,  
 " and exceedingly forward as to the busines of a  
 " common-wealth. He married Cromwell's daugh-  
 " ter, who had a great opinion of him ; and no  
 " man could prevail so much, nor order him so  
 " far as Ireton could. His death struck a great  
 " sadness into Cromwell ; and indeed it was a  
 " great loss to him, of so able, and active, so  
 " faithful, and so near a relation, and officer un-  
 " der him." The new common-wealth had also a  
 great loss by his death ; who, to express their gra-  
 titude for his important services, ordered his body  
 to be brought over to England ; where having  
 first lain in state in Somerset-House, he was inter'd  
 at Westminster among the English kings, with the  
 greatest pomp and magnificence.

## C H A P. III.

*From Cromwell's return out of Ireland, to  
 the battle of Dunbar.*

**I**N less than a month after the lord-lieutenant's return from his conquests in Ireland, he was employ'd by the parliament in a new expedition against the Scots ; who, upon the king's death, had proclaim'd his son prince Charles, king of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and sent commissioners to him at the Hague, to invite his majesty into Scotland, or rather to acquaint him upon what terms he might come thither : For though they had declar'd his right to succession, yet before he should be admitted to the exercise

The Scots  
treat with  
king  
Charles II.

1650. of his royal power, he was to " Give satisfaction  
 " to the kingdom in those things which concern'd  
 " the security of religion, the unity betwixt the  
 " kingdoms, and the good and peace of that king-  
 " dom, according to the *national covenant*, and  
 " the *solemn league and covenant.*" Whilst these  
 things were transacting, the king began to per-  
 ceive, that the states-general were very uneasy at  
 his continuance in their dominions, fearing it  
 might give some umbrage to the *English* com-  
 monwealth, with whom they had no mind to break.  
 They gave daily intimations, *That the king's re-  
 siding at the Hague, would be very inconvenient for  
 them*; and 'twas owing wholly to the great in-  
 terest and dexterity of the prince of *Orange*, that  
 they did not send a message directly to desire him  
 to depart. However, the king resolv'd to remove;  
 and an accident happen'd at this time, which  
 hasten'd that resolution; which was the assassina-

*Dr. Dorislaus* at the *Hague*. This man  
*Dorislaus mur- had been concern'd in the late king's trial;*  
*der'd at being sent as an agent from *England*, for the be-  
 the Hague. getting and continuing a right understanding and  
 fair correspondence betwixt the two republicks,  
 while he was at supper in his lodgings, with many  
 others at the table, six men enter'd the room with  
 their swords drawn, and bid those at the table not  
 stir, *for they intended no harm to any but the agent,*  
*who came from the rebels in *England*, who had lately*  
*murdered their king.* Hereupon one *Whitford* pul-  
 led *Dorislaus* from the table, and killed him at his  
 feet, saying, *Thus dies one of the Regicides:* And  
 so putting up their swords, they went quietly out  
 of the house, and escaped unpunished, though the  
 states pretended they had used their utmost en-  
 deavours to get them apprehended.*

The king left the *Hague* in *May, 1649*, tak-  
 ing his journey into *France*, where he staid some  
 months with the queen his mother at *St. Germans*:

But

But the court of *France* growing uneasy at his continuance there, he at length embarked for the isle of *Jersey*, which together with *Guernsey*, *Man*, and *Scilly*, had not yet submitted to the parliament. 1650.

IT was no sooner known in *Scotland*, that the king was arrived at *Jersey*, but Sir *George Windram* laird of *Libberton* was sent with a message to him; who, in the beginning of *October*, presented the following desires and offers of the states of *Scotland*: *First*, "That he would sign the covenant, and pass an act for all persons to take it. *Secondly*, That he would pass the acts of parliament in *Scotland*, which were ratified by their two last sessions. *Thirdly*, That he would withdraw his commission from the marquess of *Montrois*. *Fourthly*, That he would put away all papists from about him. *Fifthly*, That he would appoint some place in *Holland* to treat with commissioners from the estates of *Scotland*. *Sixthly*, That he would give a speedy answer.

The Scots proceed in their trea-  
ty with the king.

ABOUT this time, the rulers in *England* having prepar'd a fleet against the isle of *Jersey*, it was judged necessary for his majesty to leave that place, and return through *France* to *Breda*. Here he fell into new treaties with the *Scotch* commissioners, who waiting on him about the latter end of *March*, insisted on his compliance with the following propositions from the kirk and states of *Scotland*: *First*, "That all excommunicated persons should be forbid access to the court. *Secondly*, That the king would by solemn oath, and under his hand and seal, declare his allowance of the *national covenant* of *Scotland*, and of the *solemn league and covenant* of the three nations. *Thirdly*, That he should confirm all acts of parliament, enjoining the *solemn league and covenant*, establishing *Presbytery*, the di-

rectory,

1650. " *rectory, the confession of faith and catechism in the kingdom of Scotland, as they are already approved by the general assembly of the kirk, and the parliament ; and that he would observe the same in his own family, and swear never to oppose, or endeavour the alteration of the same.* *Fourthly,* That he would consent, that all civil matters might be determined by the present and subsequent parliaments in Scotland, and all matters, ecclesiastical by the general assembly of the kirk."

Unfortunate expedition of the marquess of Montross.

WHILE the king was consulting with his friends what was best to be done in this exigency, an accident happened that had like to have broke off the treaty. Whilst his majesty resided at the Hague, the marquess of Montross waited on him, and undertook, if he would follow his advice, to restore him to his kingdoms by force of arms. He only desired of the king power to act in his name, and a supply in money, with a letter recommending him to the king of Denmark for some ships, and such arms as he could spare.

ALL these being granted by the king, and preparations made for the expedition, Montross, with no more than six or seven hundred men, in four ships, resolv'd to venture his fortune, expecting to join with the northern people in Scotland, who had formerly experienc'd his great bravery and conduct. He got first to the islands of Orkney, and from thence into the Highlands ; but could perform nothing of what he had undertaken, Leslie having ordered colonel Straughan to advance towards him, with three hundred choice horse ; who in April, 1650, set upon this ill composed body of Montross, and utterly routed them. Montross fled, but was at last betray'd by one of those to whom he intrusted himself, Mackland of Affin, and was brought prisoner to Edinburgh. He was carried through the streets with the most

brutal

brutal infamy that could be devis'd, and in a few days, by a sentence pronounced by the lord *Lowden*, was hanged upon a gibbet thirty foot high for three hours; after which he was quartered, and his head set upon the *Talbooth*, and his legs and arms over the gates of *Sterling*, *Glasgow*, *Dundee*, and *Aberdeen*. His behaviour under all his sufferings was as great and firm to the last, as the fury of the covenanters against him was black and universally detested.

THE violent party in *Scotland* were hereupon for breaking off the treaty with the king, though by the date of the marquess's commission, it appeared to have been granted before the treaty commenc'd: However, it was carried not to recall their commissioners. On the other hand, one would think that this cruelty to one who had acted by his commission, would effectually have prevented the king from complying with them. But he was in no condition to struggle with these men, and so quickly yielded to all their demands. And being furnished with some *Dutch* men of war by the prince of *Orange*, he embark'd for *Scotland*; where he landed on the 16th of *June*, after a demand from the council, *That he would sign both the covenants before he set his feet on the shore*; to which he was persuaded to consent. He tarried several days at *Dundee*, attended with one committee from the parliament, and another from the kirk, who were urging his majesty to sign several propositions, and before he comply'd, would not agree to his coming to *Edinburgh* to be crowned.

The king arrives in Stotland.

THE parliament and committee of estates were likewise endeavouring to raise an army for the king's service, as they alledg'd, and to that end had publish'd an act for training of every fourth man, who was able to bear arms throughout the kingdom. With this army 'twas suppos'd they intended to invade *England*, and secure the estab-

1650. blishment of the king in his throne. The preachers were very earnest in their persuasions to engage the people in this cause ; and notwithstanding the several obstructions they met with, by reason of their divisions among themselves, they compleated their levies to about sixteen thousand foot, and six thousand horse. The king was suffer'd to come once and see this army, but not to stay in it ; for they fear'd he might gain too much upon the soldiers. Special care was taken not to suffer *malignants* or *engagers*, as they call'd the *Hamiltonian* party, to be in this army. All who deserted their cause, or were thought indifferent as to either side, which they call'd *detestable neutrality*, were put out of commission. And now the preachers, thinking they had got an army of saints, seem'd well assur'd of success.

Cromwell advises to invade Scotland.

WHILST these transactions and preparations were carrying on in *Scotland*, the common-wealth of *England* took great care to provide for its own support and security. To this end, as has been already mentioned, before the king landed in *Scotland*, it was thought necessary to send for the lord-lieutenant *Cromwell* out of *Ireland*; who immediately advised the council of state, not to be behind hand with their enemy, nor to trust to any after-game, but to prevent the *Scots* invasion of *England*, by carrying the war directly into *Scotland*. But some scrupulous men amongst them objected, *That to begin a war with Scotland would be contrary to the covenant*: To which it was answer'd, “ That the *Scots* had already broken the covenant, “ and that therefore it was not now binding on the “ one side, after it had been dissolv'd on the o-“ ther.” So that they came at length to this resolution, “ That having a formed army, well pro-“ vided and experienced, they would march it “ forthwith into *Scotland*, to prevent the *Scots* “ marching into *England*, and the miseries that “ might

“ might attend such an invasion.” The lord-general *Fairfax*, being advis’d with herein, seem’d at first to like the design; but being afterwards hourly persuaded by the Presbyterian ministers, and his own lady, who was a great patroness of them, he declared, *That he was not satisfy’d, that there was a just ground for the parliament of England, to send their army to invade Scotland; but in case the Scots should invade England, then he was ready to engage against them in defence of his own country.* The council of state being somewhat troubled at the lord-general’s scruples, appointed a committee to confer with him, in order to satisfy him of the justice and lawfulness of this undertaking. This committee were *Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, St. John, Whitelock, &c.* *Cromwell* open’d the conference; and after some previous discourse between the lord-general and the committee, his excellency acquainted them with the ground of his dissatisfaction, declaring, *That he did not see that the Scots had given sufficient cause for this invasion of their country by the English.* Upon which *Cromwell* proceeded thus: “ I confess, my lord, that if His speech they have given us no cause to invade them, it in the will not be justifiable for us to do it; and to make war upon them without a sufficient ground for it, will be contrary to that which in committee, for satisfying the general. science we ought to do, and displeasing both to God and good men. But, my lord, if they have invaded us, as your lordship knows they have done since the national league and covenant, and contrary to it, in that action of duke Hamilton, which was by order and authority from the parliament of that kingdom, and so the act of the whole nation by their representatives; and if they now give us too much cause of suspicion, that they intend another invasion upon us, joining with their king, with whom they have made a full agreement, without the assent

1650. " assent or privity of this common-wealth; and  
 " are very busy at this present in raising forces  
 " and money to carry on their design: If these  
 " things are not a sufficient ground and cause for  
 " us to endeavour to provide for the safety of our  
 " own country, and to prevent the miseries which  
 " an invasion of the *Scots* would bring upon us, I  
 " humbly submit it to your excellency's judgment.  
 " That they have formerly invaded us, and brought  
 " a war into the bowels of our country, is known  
 " to all, wherein God was pleas'd to bless us with  
 " success against them: And that they now in-  
 " tend a new invasion upon us, I do as really be-  
 " lieve, and have as good intelligence of it, as we  
 " can have of any thing that is not yet acted.  
 " Therefore I say, my lord, that upon these  
 " grounds, I think we have a most just cause to  
 " begin, or rather to return and requite their hos-  
 " tility first begun upon us; and thereby to free  
 " our country (if God shall be pleas'd to assist us,  
 " and I doubt not but he will) from the great mi-  
 " sery and calamity of having an army of *Scots*  
 " within our country. That there will be a war  
 " between us, I fear is unavoidable: Your excel-  
 " lency will soon determine, whether it be better  
 " to have this war in the bowels of another coun-  
 " try, or of our own; and that it will be in one  
 " of them, I think it without scruple." But no  
 arguments could prevail on the general, who de-  
 clar'd that his conscience was not satisfy'd as to the  
 justice of this war; and therefore, that he might  
 be no hindrance to the parliament's designs, he  
 desir'd to lay down his commission. Upon which  
*Cromwell* spoke again, as follows:

" I am very sorry your lordship should have  
 " thoughts of laying down your commission, by  
 " which God hath blessed you in the performance  
 " of so many eminent services for the parliament.  
 " I pray, my lord, consider all your faithful ser-  
 " vants,

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" vants, us who are officers, who have serv'd under you, and desire to serve under no other general. It would be a great discouragement to all of us, and a great discouragement to the affairs of the parliament, for our noble general to entertain any thoughts of laying down his commission. I hope your lordship will never give so great an advantage to the publick enemy, nor so much dishearten your friends, as to think of laying down your commission." But all this would not do: The general still continued in the same mind, and concluded thus: " What would you have me do? As far as my conscience will give way, I am willing to join with you still in the service of the parliament; but where the conscience is not satisfy'd, none of you, I am sure, will engage in any service; and that is my condition in this, and therefore I must desire to be excused."

CROMWELL and the other officers in this committee were most earnest in persuading the general to continue his commission; and yet 'tis said, there was cause enough to believe that they did not over-much desire it. Ludlow says, that Cromwell press'd the council of state, " That notwithstanding the unwillingnes of the lord Fairfax to command upon this occasion, they would yet continue him to be general of the army; professing for his own part, *That he would rather chuse to serve under him in his post than to command the greatest army in Europe.*" He also informs us, that the forementioned committee was appointed upon the motion of lieutenant-general Cromwell, Who, says he, *acted his part so to the life, that I really thought him in earnest.* And indeed, if he had not been in earnest, I do not think he would have us'd the most likely arguments to convince the general of the lawfulness of the designed expedition,

1650. dition, and to prevail on him to continue his commission ; as he certainly did.

*Fairfax laying down his commission, Cromwell is made general in his room.*

THE committee having made their report to the council of state, of all that had pass'd, and acquainted them with the lord-general's total averseness to march with the army into *Scotland*; and this being order'd to be again reported to the parliament, new endeavours were us'd to prevail on his excellency, but without success ; and shortly after he thought fit to resign his commission. But the parliament were not much at a loss for one to succeed in that great office ; for having sufficiently experienc'd the valour, conduct, and faithfulness of lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, they soon voted, *nomine contradicente*, that he should be their general ; and so an act pass'd, *For constituting and appointing Oliver Cromwell, Esq; to be captain-general in chief of all the forces rais'd, and to be rais'd, by authority of parliament, within the common-wealth of England.*

*A private conference between Cromwell and Ludlow.*

A DAY or two after, there was a private conference between general *Cromwell* and colonel *Ludlow*; the occasion whereof was this : The general told *Ludlow*, as he sat by him in the house, that having observ'd an alteration in his looks and carriage towards him, he apprehended that he had entertain'd some suspicions of him ; and being persuad'd of the tendency of both their designs to the good of the publick, he desir'd that a meeting might be appointed, wherein they might freely lay open the grounds of their mistakes and misapprehensions, and a foundation might be laid for a good understanding between them for the future. *Ludlow* answer'd, that he discover'd in him what he had never perceiv'd in himself ; yet since he was pleas'd to do him the honour to desire a free conversation with him, he assur'd him of his readiness therein. Hereupon they agreed to meet that afternoon in the council of state, and from thence to retire

retire to a private room; where general Cromwell 1650. endeavour'd to persuade Ludlow of the necessity in-  
cumbent upon him to do several things that appear'd extraordinary in the judgment of some men, who in opposition to him, took such courses as would bring ruin upon themselves, as well as him and the publick cause; assuring him, That his intentions were entirely directed to the good of the people, and that he was most ready to sacrifice his life in their service. Ludlow confess'd his former dissatisfaction with him and the rest of the army, when they were treating with the king, whom he look'd upon as the only obstruction to the settlement of the nation; and with their actions at the rendezvous, where they shot a soldier to death, and imprison'd several others, upon the account of that treaty; which he conceiv'd to have been done without authority, and for sinister ends: Yet as they had since manifested their adherence to the common-wealth, he was well enough satisfy'd, tho' some things were still carry'd otherwise than he could wish. Here-upon (as Ludlow himself, who relates this conference, tells us) the general acknowledg'd, that his dissatisfaction with the army, whilst they were treating with the king, was founded upon good reasons, and excus'd what had been done at the rendezvous, as absolutely necessary to keep things from falling into confusion; which must have follow'd upon that division, if it had not been seasonably prevented. He further tells us, that the general profess'd to desire nothing more, than that the government of the nation might be settled in a free and equal common-wealth; acknowledging, that there was no other probable means to keep out the old family and government from returning upon them. Then after a long discourse,avouring much of enthusiasm, after the manner of those times, he added, "That it was his intention to contribute "the utmost of his endeavours to make a thorough  
" reformation

1650. " reformation of the clergy and law: But, said he, " the sons of Zerviah are yet too strong for us; and " we cannot mention the reformation of the law, but " they presently cry out, we design to destroy pro- " perty; whereas the law, as 'tis now constituted, " serves only to maintain the lawyers, and to encou- " rage the rich to oppress the poor: Affirming, that " Mr. Coke, then justice in *Ireland*, by proceeding " in a summary and expeditious way, determin'd " more causes in a week, than *Westminster-hall* in " a year." He said further, " That *Ireland* was " as a clean paper in that particular, and capable " of being govern'd by such laws as should be " found most agreeable to justice; which may be " so impartially administer'd, as to be a good pre- " cedent even to *England* itself, where, when they " once perceive property preserv'd at an easy and " cheap rate in *Ireland*, they will never permit " themselves to be cheated and abused, as now they " are."

He consults about the affairs of Ireland. BEFORE the lord-general's departure for the Scotch expedition, he mov'd the council of state, " That since they had employ'd him about a work " which would require all his care, they would be " pleas'd to ease him of the affairs of *Ireland*:" Which they not consenting to, he then moved, " That they would at least send over some com- " missioners for managing the civil affairs; assuring " them likewise, that the military being more than " major-general *Ireton* could possibly carry on, " without the assistance of some general officer to " command the horse, which employment was be- " come vacant by the death of the brave lieutenant- " general *Jones*, it was absolutely necessary to com- " missionate some worthy person for that employ- " ment, and to authorize him to be one of their " commissioners for the civil government." And thereupon he mentioned colonel *Ludlow* as a fit per- son for that charge; telling them, " That tho' he " himself

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" himself was empowered by virtue of his commission from the parliament, to nominate the lieutenant-general of the horse, yet because the gentleman he propos'd, was a member of parliament, and of the council of state, he desired, for the better securing the obedience of the army to him, that the parliament might be mov'd to nominate and appoint him to that employment."

In the end the council agreed, " That the house should be moved to appoint colonel *Ludlow* lieutenant-general of the horse in *Ireland*; and that the lord-general *Cromwell*, major-general *Ireton*, colonel *Ludlow*, colonel *John Jones*, and major *Salway*, or any three of them, should be authorized by act of parliament, to be commissioners for the administration of the civil affairs in that nation." And the parliament concur'd with the council herein, with the addition only of Mr. *Weaver*, a member of the house, to be one of the commissioners for managing the civil government.

THE lord-general *Cromwell* having thus provided for the well ordering of the affairs of *Ireland*, out for Scotland. on the 29th of June set out on his journey towards the army in the north. He received great demonstrations of respect from the generality of the people, as he passed along; and on the 4th of July he arriv'd at *York*, accompany'd with many great officers of the army. Here the lord-mayor and aldermen attended him, and invited him and his officers to a stately dinner, where they were highly caref's'd, and entertain'd with mighty expressions of joy. But having his business chiefly at heart, he staid here no longer than to order supplies for the army, and hasten their rendezvous.

BEFORE this, the committee of estates in *Scots land*, seeming to be surprized at the news of the alarm'd English army's marching northwards, began to extenuate the matter with the parliament; sending a letter to the speaker by colonel *Grey*, to this effect,

" That

1650. " That they wondered at the report of the *English* army's advance towards their country, and that many of their ships were secur'd by the *English* contrary to the act of pacification in the large treaty, whereby no acts of hostility were to be used against each other, without three month's warning given before-hand : That the forces they were raising were only for their own defence ; and therefore they desired to know, if the *English* army, now on their march northward, were design'd for offence or defence ; to guard their own borders, or invade *Scotland*." Letters of the same import were also sent to Sir Arthur Hafferigg governour of Newcastle, major-general Lambert, and the lord-general Cromwell.

The parliament's declaration of the grounds of their proceedings.

ON the other hand, the parliament of *England* published a declaration of the grounds and reasons of their army's advance northwards ; some of which were to this effect : " *First*, That the *Scots*, contrary to their agreement, had once already invaded *England* under duke *Hamilton*, and were now ready for a second invasion ; so that the *English* were advanc'd against them only by way of prevention. *Secondly*, That altho' they could not claim to themselves any authority or dominion over the *English*, yet in *Scotland* they proclaimed *Charles Stuart* king of *England* and *Ireland* ; and since that, promis'd to assist him against this commonwealth. *Thirdly*, That they declared against the *English* parliament and army, as *Sectaries*, ranking them with malignants and papists ; and had resolved to impose their form of religion upon the *English* nation."

THE *Scots* perceiving that with all their arts the parliament of *England* was not to be impos'd on, now laboured by all methods possible to render their army odious, and incense the people against them. To this end they gave out, " That *Cromwell* had a commission to come for *Scotland* with fire and sword,

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“ sword, and was to give no quarter to any *Scot* ;  
“ and that he was to have all he could conquer for  
“ himself and his soldiers.” And they further re-  
ported, “ That the *English* army intended to put all  
“ men to the sword, and to thrust hot irons thro’  
“ the womens breasts.” This exceedingly terri-  
fy’d the people, till they were somewhat eas’d by a  
declaration of the lord-general and the army, di-  
rected to the well-affected in *Scotland*, to the follow-  
ing purpose: “ That being to advance into *Scotland*, A declara-  
“ for the ends express’d in the parliament’s decla-  
“ ration ; and considering the practices of some in  
“ that nation, whose designs were by unjust re-  
“ proaches and false flanders to make their army  
“ odious, and represent them as monsters rather  
“ than men ; therefore, to clear themselves, they  
“ could do no otherwise than to remind them of  
“ their behaviour when they were before in *Scot-*  
“ *land* : What injury was then done either to the  
“ persons, houses, or goods of any? Considering this,  
“ it was hop’d that the present false reports would  
“ not affright them from their habitations.” And  
they further declar’d “ from the integrity of their  
“ hearts, That such of the gentry and commonalty,  
“ as inhabited where the army might come ; they  
“ being none of those who by their counsels laid  
“ the foundation of a second invasion, or clos’d  
“ with him who had endeavour’d to engage foreign  
“ princes against the commonwealth of *England*,  
“ and had exercis’d actual hostility, by commissi-  
“ oning pirates to spoil the ships and goods belong-  
“ ing thereto; should not have the least violence or  
“ injury offer’d to them, either in body or goods ;  
“ or if any should happen, upon complaint made,  
“ redress and satisfaction should immediately be  
“ had. Wherefore they desir’d all persons to con-  
“ tinue in their habitations, assuring them they  
“ should enjoy what they had without any dis-  
“ bance.” Copies of this declaration were imme-  
diately

1650. diately sent into Scotland; and the country folks that came to Berwick market, had their pockets fill'd with them, to carry home and disperse among their neighbours.

He proceeds in his journey.

THE general in the mean time leaving York, came to Northallerton, and the next day to Darlington, where, as he pass'd by, the train of artillery, which was quarter'd there, saluted him with seven pieces of ordnance. From hence he posts to Durham, where he was met by Sir Arthur Haslerigg, who conducted him to Newcastle, where he was governour, and entertain'd him there with a great deal of gallantry. Here the lord-general and his officers kept a solemn fast, to implore the blessing of God upon the present expedition: And then having duly consider'd the affairs of the army, he settled a method for supplying it from time to time with provisions. This done, he leaves Newcastle, and hastens towards Berwick; and his forces being all come up, he on the 20th of July caused a general rendezvous of them to be on Haggerston-Moor, four miles from Berwick; where he was received by the army with great shouting and other signs of joy. Being all drawn up in battalia, there appeared a gallant body of about five thousand horse and eleven thousand foot. The general marched them about two or three hundred paces, and then dismissed them to their quarters, whilst himself went to Berwick; whence the army's declaration was sent into Scotland, containing the grounds of their march into that kingdom, one copy of it to the Scotch general, another to the parliament, and a third to the committee of estates.

THE army being thus quartered upon the very edge of Scotland, the lord-general two days after, drew them out on a hill within Berwick bounds; where they had a full prospect of the adjacent country, the stage whereon they were so soon to act their parts. Here he made a speech to them, declaring

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claring the grounds of their present undertaking, and something in relation to his coming from *Ireland*, and the providence that had design'd this command to him; and exhorting them to be faithful and courageous, and then not to doubt of a blessing from God, and all encouragement from himself. This speech was answer'd with loud and unanimous acclamations from the soldiers; who being order'd to march, went on shouting as they enter'd *Scotland*. He enters Scotland.

That night they quarter'd in the field near the lord *Mordington's* castle; where the lord-general, for the better preserving good order and discipline, caus'd proclamation to be made throughout the camp, "That none, on pain of death, should offer violence or injury to the persons or goods of any in *Scotland* not in arms; and withal, that none on the same penalty do presume, without special licence, to straggle half a mile from their quarters." From hence they advanc'd for *Coberspath*, and the next day arriv'd at *Dunbar*, where Arrives at Dunbar. they were recruited with provisions from the ships sent thither from *England* for that purpose; for the country afforded them none, the *Scotch* estates having taken a course before-hand, to clear all the country from *Berwick* to *Edinburgh*, of all things that might afford any succour or relief to the *English* army. But this entertainment did not in the least discourage them, it being no other than they expected.

THE army being somewhat refresh'd at *Dunbar*, marched from thence to *Haddington*, twelve miles from *Edinburgh*; and all this without the least opposition, not seeing all this while the face of an enemy in arms; nor did they in all their march see one *Scotchman* under sixty years of age, nor any youth above six, and but very few women and children; they being all fled from their habitations, upon their ministers telling them, "That the *English* would cut the throats of all

1650. " between sixty and sixteen years old, cut off the  
 " the right hands of all the youths under sixteen  
 " and above six, burn the womens breasts with hot  
 " irons, and destroy all before them." Where-  
 upon, as the army march'd through some towns,  
 poor women fell on their knees, begging that  
 they would not burn their breasts before they de-  
 stroy'd them, and children beg'd them to save  
 their lives ; so much did the people believe what  
 their ministers had told them.

Endea-  
vours to  
draw the  
enemy to  
a general  
engage-  
ment, but  
in vain.

Beats  
them in  
several  
skir-  
mishes.

THE next day after the army's remove to *Haddington*, they understood that the enemy was dis-  
 posed to give them battle on a heath called *Gladf-  
 moor*. Whereupon the *English* endeavour'd to  
 possess themselves of the place before them, that  
 they might have the advantage of ground in case  
 they should meet them : But the *Scots*, it seems,  
 thought not fit to appear. Upon this major-ge-  
 neral *Lambert* and colonel *Whally* were ordered to  
 advance with one thousand four hundred horse to-  
 ward *Muscleborough*, four miles from *Edinburgh* ;  
 and major *Hains* commanding the forlorn, faced  
 the enemy within three quarters of a mile of their  
 trenches. The next day the lord-general drew up  
 his whole army before *Edinburgh*, near which the  
*Scotch* army was encamp'd upon a very advantageous  
 ground. Here some skirmishes happen'd about  
 the possession of king *Arthur's-hill*, a place within  
 a mile of the city ; which the *English* gain'd, hav-  
 ing beaten the enemy from it ; and soon after pos-  
 sess'd themselves of a church and several houses.  
 But all these provocations could not prevail on the  
*Scots* to forsake their trenches, nor would they by  
 any means be drawn forth to engage in a general  
 combat. The lord-general intended to have made  
 an attempt upon them ; but there fell so great a  
 rain, which continued all night, and part of the  
 next day, and his men were so wearied out with  
 hard duty, that he was oblig'd to draw off his ar-  
 my

my to Muscleborough, there to refresh and recruit it with provisions. As he drew off, the *Scots*, who labour'd all they could to vex and distress the *English* army, without coming to a general engagement with them, sallied out, and falling upon the rear-guard, put them into some disorder; but major-general *Lambert* and colonel *Whalley* coming in to their relief, routed the *Scots*, and beat them back into their trenches. *Lambert* was wounded in the charge, and had his horse kill'd under him; but they took two colours, and several prisoners of the enemy; whilst the king stood all the while upon the castle, and saw the encounter. Some few of the *English* were kill'd, but far more of the *Scots*, amongst whom were some persons of quality. After this, the *English* march'd on quietly to Muscleborough, tho' in a very wet and weary condition; that night they stood upon their guard, expecting every moment to be set upon by their enemy; as at last they were: For between three and four a clock in the morning, major-general *Montgomery*, and colonel *Straughan*, with fifteen companies of choice horse, fell into their quarters with such fury, that they bore down the guards, and put a regiment of horse in disorder. But the *English* army taking the alarm, charg'd them so home that they put them to the rout, and pursu'd them within half a league of Edinburgh, killing several officers and soldiers, and taking many prisoners. The *Scots*, when they fell first upon the *English*, cry'd out, give no quarter, but kill all; and particularly they refus'd to give quarter to one captain *Phineas*, whom notwithstanding the *English* brought off. There were two ministers in the Scotch party, and one of them was taken prisoner; and 'tis said the Scotch soldiers confess'd, that the ministers did most stir them up to cruelty. The lord-general, to shew his generosity, sent the chief officers of the *Scots* who were wounded and taken, in his own coach, and the rest in waggons

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Marches  
again to  
*Dunbar*  
for sup-  
plies.

Advances  
again to-  
wards *E-  
dinburgh*.

waggons to *Edinburgh*; which gain'd him great applause, and tended much to vindicate him from those reports that had been given out of his cruelty, whereby many had been prejudic'd against him.

THE army having now well nigh spent their provisions, the lord-general retires with them again to *Dunbar*, to meet and take in such fresh supplies as were sent thither by sea, by order of the *English* parliament. Here they receiv'd their tents and provisions from the ships; and the inhabitants of *Dunbar* being reduc'd to great want, the general order'd a great quantity of pease and wheat, to the value of two hundred and forty pounds, of that which was sent from *London* to the army, to be distributed among the poor people there. After convenient supply and refreshment, and two days spent in exhortation to the army, and in seeking *God* for his blessing upon their actions, they again advanced towards *Edinburgh*, where the *Scots* were keeping a solemn thanksgiving for their supposed great deliverance, imagining the *English* army was quite gone; and the ministers gave God thanks, for turning back the army of sectaries by the way that they came, and putting terror into their hearts, which made them flee when none pursued. But the sudden return of the army to *Muscleborough* soon made them ashame'd of what they had been doing; tho' it seems, *Lesley* was not so confident, but expected another visit from the *English*; for upon their return, they found *Muscleborough* more forlorn than before, he having commanded, That the gude women of the town should awe come away with their gear, and not any stay to brew or bake for the *English* army on pain of death.

ABOUT this time, a trumpet came to the army from lieutenant-general *David Lesley*, with a declaration of the general assembly, containing the state of the quarrel in which they were to fight; which they desir'd might be publickly known, and was

" to

to this effect: "That the general assembly con-  
 sidering there must be just grounds of stumbling,  
 from the king's majesty's refusing to subscribe  
 the declaration concerning his former carriage,  
 and resolutions for the future in reference to the  
 cause of God, the enemies and friends thereof;  
 doth therefore declare, That the kirk and king-  
 dom will not own any *Malignant* party their quar-  
 rel or interest, but they will fight upon their  
 former principles, for the cause of God and the  
 kingdom. And therefore as they disclaim all the  
 sin and guilt of the king and his house, so they  
 will not own him nor his interest, any further  
 than he shall disclaim his and his father's oppo-  
 sition to the work of God, and the enemies there-  
 of. And withal, they will with convenient speed  
 consider of the papers sent to them from *Oliver*  
*Cromwell*, and vindicate themselves from the  
 falsehoods contain'd therein."

To this the lord-general thought fit to return His an-  
 them this answer: "That the army continued the <sup>answer to the</sup> general as-  
 same as they profess'd themselves to the honest fembly's  
 people of *Scotland*, wishing to them as to their declarati-  
 own souls; it being no part of their businesse to on.  
 hinder them in the worship of God according to  
 their consciences, as by his word they ought;  
 and that they should be ready to perform what  
 obligation lay upon them by the *covenant*. But  
 that under the pretence of the *covenant* mistaken,  
 a king should be taken in by them, and imposed  
 on the *English*, and this call'd the cause of God  
 and the kingdom; and this done upon the satis-  
 faction of God's people in both nations, as  
 alledg'd, together with a disowning of *Malig-*  
*nants*, altho' the head of them be received, who  
 at this very instant hath a party fighting in Ire-  
 land, and prince *Rupert* at sea on a *Malignant*  
 account; the *French* and *Irish* ships daily mak-  
 ing depredations upon the *English* coasts, and all

1650. " by virtue of his commission ; therefore the army  
 " cannot believe, that whilst *Malignants* are fighting  
 " and plotting against them on the one side,  
 " the *Scots* declaring for him on the other, should  
 " not be an espousing of a *Malignant* interest or  
 " quarrel, but a mere fighting on former grounds  
 " and principles. If the state of the quarrel be  
 " thus, and you say you resolve to fight the army,  
 " you will have opportunity to do that ; else what  
 " means our abode here ? And our hope is in the  
 " Lord, &c."

*He en-  
camps on  
Pencland  
hills.*

GENERAL Cromwell finding he could by no means provoke the *Scots* to an engagement, on the 17th of *August* march'd his army from *Muscleborough*, and pitch'd his tents on *Pencland* hills, within view of *Edinburgh*. In this march the enemy drew forth several bodies of horse and fac'd the *English*, but came not within gun-shot. The army being quarter'd on the hills, the lord-general sent out two troops of dragoons to possess themselves of *Collington-house*. About this time, a serjeant in colonel *Cox*'s regiment and three soldiers his associates, were sentenc'd to be hang'd for plundering a house and stealing a cloak ; which sentence was executed on the serjeant, for a terror to others ; but the other three were pardon'd. So careful was the general to preserve the country, according to his declaration.

ON the 18th the *Scots* drew forth on the west side of *Edinburgh*, between the river *Leith* and the sea, to the number of three thousand horse, apprehending the *English* design'd to possess a pafs over the said river. The lord-general seeing this, drew out a forlorn, and went in person before them, to shew how ready he was to fight. Being come near to their body, one who knew the lord-general, fir'd a carbine at him : Upon which, he call'd out and told him, *That if he had been one of his soldiers, he should have been cashier'd for firing at that distance.*

This

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This was all that was done ; for the *Scots* still having no mind to fight, return'd back again to their quarters. And the next day, part of the *English* army took the house of *Redbaugh*, belonging to Sir *James Hamilton*. It was a garrison situated within a mile and a half of *Edinburgh*, and had about eighty foot to defend it ; and though the *English* storm'd it in the sight of the enemy's whole army, yet no party came out to relieve it. Three-score were taken prisoners here ; and the place was of great advantage to the *English*.

ON the 26th of *August*, the *Scots* sent to general *Cromwell*, to desire a conference between some of themselves and some of his officers. This being agreed to, and a convenient place appointed, the lord *Waristoun* secretary of state, Sir *John Brown*, colonel *Straughan*, and Mr. *Douglass* a minister, with some others, attended for that purpose. The chief design of this conference, was to wipe off a pretended aspersion that was cast upon them, and spread over both armies, as if they kept themselves, in trenches and holes, not daring to fight. And therefore, the better to vindicate themselves from these calumnies, they assur'd the *English*, “ That “ when opportunity serv'd, it should be seen that “ they wanted not courage to give them battle.”

THE next morning the *Scotch* army, as if they design'd so soon to make good what they had said, drew out upon a march ; which the lord-general *Cromwell* no sooner observ'd, but he prepar'd to meet them, hoping now to have some fair play with them. And the soldiers also expected the same thing, being overjoy'd at the very thoughts of engaging ; in order to which they immediately took down their tents, laid aside their knap-sacks, and put themselves every way into a fit posture to meet and receive their enemy. But the *Scots*, it seems, had still no mind to come to an engagement ; for when the *English* army drew near them, they found they

Attends  
the moti-  
ons of the  
*Scotch ar-*  
*my.*

1650. they were separated from them, by a great bog and a deep ditch ; so that they could not come at them to engage, without running such hazards as were not necessary at that time. All that the lord-general could do for the present, was to thunder against them with his cannon. Both armies stood all that night in battalia ; and the next morning, the great guns roared on both sides for about the space of an hour ; by which one and twenty of the *English* were kill'd or wounded, but many more of the *Scots*, who, for all that, would not remove to any other ground to engage, nor join in a closer fight.

Retreats  
to Pen-  
land.

To Mus-  
cleboroug**b**.

UPON this, the lord-general *Cromwell* marched back his army to their former quarters on *Penland* hills ; where they were no sooner arriv'd but they were inform'd, that the *Scots* had sent out a party to take in *Muscleborough* and *Preston-pans*, thereby to cut off provisions from the *English* army. Hereupon the lord-general gave orders for the army to march that way ; which they were very forward to do, as being to fight for their victuals. But it being a very stormy and tempestuous night, and very dark, he stay'd their march till the next morning ; when they arrived at *Muscleborough* without any molestation from the enemy, who in the mean time took possession of what they had left behind them on *Penland* hills ; and then dogging them in the rear, watch'd all opportunities to distress them.

F. *Orleans* gives us this brief account of these various marches of the lord-general *Cromwell*, in order to bring the *Scots* to an engagement. “ *Cromwell*, says he, whose interest it was to endeavour to come soon to a battle, in a country where his army found nothing to subsist on, march'd directly towards the enemy, who lay encamp'd between *Edinburgb* and *Leith*, to cover those two places, and the heart of the country. The cunning *Englishman* try'd all ways to draw *Lesley* to

" to fight ; but he understood his trade, and it being his interest to protract time, so to ruin the enemy's army, which had neither ammunition nor provisions but what came from *England* at a great charge, and with much difficulty, he kept himself so strongly intrench'd, that *Cromwell* durst not attack him. The *English* general us'd all the baits and stratagems known in war, to oblige the *Scot* to fight him ; sometimes drawing him towards *Dunbar*, as if he would have besieg'd *Edinburgh*, and again moving to get between *Sterling* and him. But the *Scot* dexterously avoided all these snares ; and though the *English* army kept up close with him, he so ordered his motions, and posted himself so advantageously, that the whole month of *August* was spent in those counter-marches, so tedious to a man of *Cromwell*'s spirit, who could never meet with an opportunity either to fight in open field, or attack his enemy in his camp."

By this means, and by frequent skirmishes and harrassing the *English*, the *Scots* hop'd at last to tire them out, depending much upon the disagreeableness of the climate to their constitution, especially, if they should keep them in the field till winter, which begins betimes in those parts. And their counsels succeeded according to their wish ; for by this time the *English* army, through hard duty, want of provisions (the stores brought by sea being now exhausted) and the rigour of the season, grew very sickly, and diminish'd daily ; the *Scotch* army in the mean time increasing, and continuing in good heart. The lord-general reflecting upon the sad state of his affairs, and considering the weak and crazy condition of his army, resolv'd in this exigency to retreat with them once more to *Dunbar*. Authors differ as to the design of this march ; some thinking it was to receive further supplies from the *English* ships ; others, that it was in order to return

1650. turn into *England*; and others again suppose, that the general intended, by garrisoning *Dunbar*, to lie there securely for some time, till they might recover strength, and receive convenient recruits both of horse and foot from *Berwick*. The lord *Clarendon* says, “Whether that march was to retire out of so barren a country for want of provisions (which no doubt were very scarce; and the season of the year would not permit them to depend upon all necessary supplies by sea;) or whether that motion was only to draw the *Scots* from the advantageous post of which they were possess'd, is not yet understood.” And bishop *Burnet* tells us, That *Cromwell* being press'd by the *Scotch* army, retir'd to *Dunbar*, where his ships and provisions lay. This seems to be very true, and that *Cromwell* was then only on the defensive; but whether at his departure from *Muscleborough* he had actually design'd to return into *England*, does not appear so certain: Though *Ludlow* tells us, that when the army came to *Dunbar*, they shipped their baggage and sick men, and design'd to return into *England*; and others say, that *Cromwell* wanting provisions, was there shipping off his foot and cannon, designing only the next day to break through with his horse.

To *Haddington*.

WHATEVER the lord-general's design was, he, in pursuance of the foremention'd resolution, on the 30th of *August*, drew out his army from *Muscleborough*, and march'd towards *Haddington*. The *Scots* observing the *English* army to retire, follow'd them close; and falling upon the rear-guard of horse in the night, having the advantage of a clear moon, beat them up to the rear-guard of foot. Which alarm, coming suddenly upon them, put them into some disorder. But the *Scots*, as some say, wanting courage to prosecute the advantage, and withal, a cloud overshadowing the moon, gave the *English* an opportunity to secure themselves and recover

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recover the main body. Being come to *Haddington*, where they were in continual danger of being assaulted by the enemy, the general order'd a strict watch to be kept, to prevent the worst. The *Scots* conceiving they had now a more than ordinary advantage, about midnight attempted the *English* quarters on the west end of the town; but were soon repuls'd and set further off. The next day, being the first of *September*, the *Scots* being drawn up at the west end of the town in a very advantageous place, the *English* drew out on the east into an open field, very fit for both armies to engage in; where having waited some hours for the coming of the *Scots*, and perceiving that they would not To *Dunbar*. fight but upon an advantage, they, pursuant to their former resolution, march'd away to *Dunbar*.

THE *Scotch* army follow'd at a convenient distance, being reinforc'd with the addition of three regiments; and seeing the *English* lodg'd in *Dunbar*, hover'd about them upon the adjacent hills like a thick cloud, menacing nothing but ruin and destruction, and looking down upon them as their sure prey.

THE lord-general was now in great distress, and Is in great look'd upon himself as undone. His army was in distress. a very weak and sickly condition, and in great want of provisions, whereby their courage also was very much abated; whilst the *Scots* were stout and hearty, in their own country, and upon very advantageous ground. And besides, they more than doubled the *English* in number, being about twenty seven thousand, whereas the others were but twelve thousand. Some say they had in their army about thirty thousand horse and foot; and the *English* were reduc'd to ten thousand at the most. General *Cromwell*, with this sickly company, was now hemm'd in on every side by those greater numbers of his enemies; who, to make sure work, had also by a strong party secur'd *Coberspath*, the only pass between

1650. between him and *Berwick*, thereby to hinder all provisions or relief from thence, or to cut off all retreat from the *English* army, who had not above three days forage for their horses. Thus were they reduc'd to the utmost straits, so that they had now no way left, but either to yield themselves prisoners, and tamely give up themselves a prey to their insulting enemies; or to fight upon those unequal terms, and under those great disadvantages.

Calls a council of war.

In this extremity the lord-general, on the 2d of September, call'd a council of war, in which, after some debate, it was resolv'd to fall upon the enemy the next morning, about an hour before day; and accordingly the several regiments were order'd to their respective posts. Here we are told by bishop *Burnet*, That *Cromwell*, under these pressing difficulties, call'd his officers together to seek the Lord, as they express'd it: After which, he bid all about him take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them. Then walking in the earl of *Roxburgh's* gardens, that lay under the hill, and by prospective glasses discerning a great motion in the *Scotch* camp; *Cromwell* thereupon said, God is delivering them into our hands, they are coming down to us. And the bishop says, that *Cromwell* lov'd to talk much of that matter all his life long afterwards. The *Scots*, it seems, had now at last resolv'd to fight the *English*, and to that end were drawing down the hill, where, if they had continu'd, the *English* could not have gone up to engage them without very great disadvantage. This resolution was contrary to *Lesley's* opinion; who, tho' he was in the chief command, had a committee of the states to give him his orders, among whom *Waristoun* was one. These being weary of lying in the fields, thought that *Lesley* did not make haste enough to destroy the army of the sectaries, as they call'd them. *Lesley* on the other hand told them, that by lying there all was sure, but that by engaging

engaging in action with brave and desperate men, all might be lost ; and yet they still press'd him to fall on. Many have imagin'd that there was treachery in all this ; but the foremention'd author says, he was persuaded there was no treachery in it ; only *Waristoun* was too hot, and *Lesley* was too cold, and yielded too easily to their humours, which he should not have done. This resolution of the *Scots*, to fall upon the *English*, was for some time retarded by the unseasonableness of the weather ; and in the mean while, as we have already observ'd, *Cromwell* resolv'd to fall upon them.

THE night before the battle proving dreadfully rainy and tempestuous, the lord-general took more <sup>Totally</sup> routs than ordinary care of himself and his army. He refreshed his men in the town, and above all things secured his match-locks against the weather, whilst his enemies neglected theirs. The *Scots* were all the night employed in coming down the hill ; and early in the morning, being *Tuesday* the third of *September*, before they were put in order, general *Cromwell* drew out a strong party of horse, and falling upon the horse-guards, made them retire. Then immediately his bodies both of horse and foot advancing, the fight soon grew hot on all sides ; till after about an hour's dispute, the whole numerous army of the *Scots* was totally routed. Two regiments stood their ground, and were almost all kill'd in their ranks. The rest fled, and were pursu'd as far as *Haddington* with great execution. About four thousand were slain on the place and in the pursuit, and ten thousand taken prisoners, many of whom were desperately wounded. Fifteen thousand arms, all the artillery and ammunition, with above two hundred colours were taken ; and all with the loss of scarce three hundred *English*. Prisoners of note were Sir *James Lumdale* lieutenant-general of the foot, the lord *Libberton* (who soon after dy'd of his wounds) adjutant-general *Bickerton*, <sup>Scotch army in the battle of Dunbar.</sup> scout-

1650. *scout-master Campbell, Sir William Douglass; the lord Grandison, and colonel Gourdon; besides twelve lieutenant-colonels, six majors, forty two captains, seventy five lieutenants, &c.* The two *Lesleys* escap'd to *Edinburgh*, which upon the news of this defeat was immediately quitted by its garrison, and *Leith* resolv'd to admit the conquerors, being not able to keep them out. Thus this formidable army, which had so lately triumph'd in a confident assurance of victory, was totally defeated and overthrown by one not half so numerous, which at the same time was reduc'd almost to the last extremity. But this extremity making them fix upon so firm a resolution either to conquer or die, and withal, their falling so suddenly upon the *Scots*, when they so little expected them, but design'd first to fall upon them, seem to be the true occasion of this wonderful turn of affairs. The lord-general himself drew up a narrative of this memorable victory, and sent it by a courier to the council of state, who order'd it to be read in all the churches of *London* with solemn thanksgiving: And the colours taken in this battle being sent up to the parliament, were by their order hung up as trophies in *Westminster-ball*.

## C H A P. IV.

*From the battle of Dunbar, to the battle  
of Worcester.*

THIS great success put new life into the English soldiers, who by this means, after having been so long toss'd up and down, almost spent by hard duty, and reduced to such extremity, that they were in danger of being starv'd, now met with good accommodation and refreshment, and had an opportunity to furnish themselves with all necessary supplies. Soon after the battle was

was over, the lord-general, the better to improve his victory, and to secure what he had obtained, sent *Lambert* with a strong party of horse and foot, to attempt *Edinburgh*, the chief city, and secure *Leith*, that the *English* ships might there the more readily and conveniently supply the army

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He takes possession of Edinburgh and Leith.

with all necessaries. The *Scots*, upon the news of their army's defeat, having deserted *Edinburgh*, *Lambert* on the same day obtained a quiet possession of it, as also of *Leith*; in both which places were found several pieces of ordnance, many arms, and a considerable quantity of provisions; which the *Scots*, by reason of their haste, could not carry away with them. But though the *English* had thus possess'd themselves of the town of *Edinburgh*, the castle still remained in the hands of the enemy; which, though judged impregnable, was at last reduced by *Cromwell*; as we shall see in its proper place.

THE lord-general staid some small time at *Dunbar*, to settle matters, and to dispose of the prisoners; who being so numerous, that it seem'd as much trouble to keep them as it was to take them, about five thousand of them, who were most sick and wounded, were set at liberty; and the rest were driven like turkies to *Berwick*, by the *English* soldiers appointed to convey them thither. Soon after *Lambert* had taken possession of *Edinburgh*, the lord-general himself came up, and caus'd his whole army to march into that city; which was done without any loss, save that one of the soldiers had his arm shot off by a cannon-bullet from the castle. And now all possible diligence was us'd in fortifying *Leith*, it being judg'd to be the best and most commodious sheltring-place the *English* could have in *Scotland*, for the winter-seasom.

On the Sunday after the lord-general had enter'd *Edinburgh*, he sent a trumpet to the castle, to ac-

N

quaint

1650. acquaint the governour, that the ministers who were with him might return to the churches, and have free liberty to preach there ; but the ministers return'd him this answer, That they found nothing express'd, whereby to build any security for their persons ; and for their return, they resolv'd to reserve themselves for better times, and to wait upon him who had bidden his face for a while from the sons of Jacob. General Cromwell reply'd in a letter to the governour, as follows :

His two letters to the governour of Edinburgh castle.

" OUR kindness offer'd to the ministers with you was done with ingenuity, thinking to have met with the like ; but I am satisfy'd to tell those with you, that if their master's service (as they call it) were chiefly in their eye, imagination of sufferings would not have caus'd such a return ; much less the practices of our party (as they are pleas'd to say) upon the ministers of Christ in England, have been an argument of personal persecution. The ministers of England are supported, and have liberty to preach the gospel, though not to rail ; nor under pretence thereof, to over-top the civil power, or debase it as they please. No man hath been troubled in England or Ireland for preaching the gospel ; nor has any minister been molested in Scotland, since the coming of the army hither. The speaking truth becomes the ministers of Christ. When ministers pretend to a glorious reformation, and lay the foundation thereof in getting to themselves power, and can make worldly mixtures to accomplish the same, such as their late agreement with their king, and hopes by him to carry on their designs, they may know, that the Sion promised, and hoped for, will not be built with such untempered mortar. And for the unjust invasion they mention, time was when an army of Scotland came into England, not called by the supreme authority. We have laid in our papers,

with

" with what hearts, and upon what account we  
" came; and the Lord hath heard us, tho' you  
" would not, *upon as solemn an appeal* as any expe-  
" rience can parallel. When they trust purely to  
" the sword of the spirit, which is *the word of*  
" *God*, which is powerful to bring down strong  
" holds, and every imagination that exalts itself,  
" which alone is able to square and fit the stones  
" for the *New Jerusalem*; then, and not before,  
" and by that means, and no other, shall *Jerusa-*  
" *lem* (which is to be the praise of the whole earth)  
" the City of the Lord be built, the *Sion* of the  
" Holy One of *Israel*. I have nothing to say to  
" you, but that I am, Sir, your humble servant,  
" O. Cromwell."

THE Scotch ministers sent an answer to this letter, and general *Cromwell* another letter in answer to them; in which he says: " We look upon mi-  
" nisters as helpers of, not lords over the faith of  
" God's people: I appeal to their consciences,  
" whether any denying their doctrines, and dis-  
" senting, shall not incur the censure of sectary;  
" and what is this but to deny christians their li-  
" berty, and assume the infallible chair? Where  
" do you find in scripture, that preaching is in-  
" cluded in your function? Tho' an approbation  
" from men hath order in it, and may do well, yet  
" he that hath not a better than that, he hath none  
" at all. I hope he that ascended up on high,  
" may give his gifts to whom he please; and if  
" those gifts be the seal of mission, be not envious,  
" tho' *Eldad* and *Medad* prophesy: You know  
" who bids us covet earnestly the best gifts, but  
" chiefly that we may prophesy; which the apostle  
" explains there to be a speaking to instruction, and  
" edification, and comfort; which the instructed,  
" edified, and comforted can best tell the energy  
" and effect of. If such evidence be, I say again,  
" take heed you envy not, for your own sakes;

1650. " lest you be guilty of a greater fault than *Moses*,  
 reprob'd in *Joshua*, for envying for his sake.  
 Indeed you err thro' the mistake of the scriptures: Approbation is an act of conveniency, in respect of order; not of necessity, to give faculty to preach the gospel. Your pretended fear, lest error should step in, is like the man that would keep all the wine out of the country, lest men should be drunk. It will be found an unjust and unwise jealousy, to deny a man the liberty he hath by nature, upon a supposition he may abuse it; when he doth abuse it, judge." The ministers still refusing to return to their churches, the lord-general caus'd *English* ministers to officiate in their places.

ALL the chief magistrates of *Edinburgh*, together with the committees of the kirk and state, fled from thence to *Sterling*, where they endeavour'd to secure themselves as well as they could. Hither likewise resorted those who had escaped at *Dunbar*, and did what they could to piece up their shatter'd army, that by a second encounter they might endeavour to regain their lost credit: To which end recruits were also rais'd by the committee of estates; but it was thought fit to make some change in the officers, not only in the inferior ones, but also in the great commanders: For old *Lesley*, earl of *Leven*, was laid aside with dishonour, tho' *David Lesley* was continu'd.

Several parties in Scotland.

BUT all these methods signify'd but little, whilst the *Scots* were so divided among themselves, and split into so many parties and factions. The ruling party was that which was for the king and kirk; tho' these were again sub-divided into *resolutioners* and *protestors*. The resolutioners were so call'd from their adhering to those resolutions, which were pass'd by the committee of estates, and the commissioners of the kirk; " That those who had made defection, or had hitherto been too back-ward

" ward in the work, ought to be admitted to make  
" profession of their repentance; and then, after  
" such profession made, might, in the present ex-  
" tremity, be admitted to defend and serve their  
" country." Against these resolutions some of those  
two bodies protested; who, together with those  
who adher'd to them, were call'd the protestors.  
They alledg'd, " That to take in men of known  
" enmity to the cause, was a sort of betraying it,  
" because it was putting it in their power to be  
" tray it; that to admit them to a profession of  
" repentance, was a profanation and mocking of  
" God; for that it was manifest, they were wil-  
" ling to comply with those terms, tho' against  
" their conscience, only that they might get into  
" the army; and that they could not expect the  
" blessing of God upon an army so constituted."  
They had a great advantage over the others as to  
this particular; for this mock penitence was in-  
deed a very scandalous practice. These proceed-  
ings gave rise to another faction, which prevail'd  
chiefly in the western counties; where a great ma-  
ny met, and form'd an association apart, as well  
against the king and the defection in the kirk par-  
ty, as against the army of sectaries. These were  
call'd *remonstrators*, from their publishing a re-  
monstrance against all the proceedings in the late  
treaty with the king, when, as they said, it was  
visible by the commission he granted to *James Gra-  
ham* (meaning the marques of *Montross*) that his  
heart was not sincere; and when he took the *cove-  
nant*, they had reason to believe he did it with a  
resolution not to maintain it, since in his whole de-  
portment and private conversation, he discover'd a  
secret enmity to the work of God. They imputed  
the shameful defeat at *Dunbar*, to their prevari-  
cating in these things: And concluded, " That  
" therefore, according to the declaration of kirk  
" and state, *August 13, 1650*, they disclaim'd all  
" the

1650. "the sin and guilt of the king and his house, both old and new; and that they could not own him nor his interest in the state of the quarrel betwixt them and the enemy, against whom they were to hazard their lives." The chief leaders of this party were colonel *Ker* and colonel *Straughan*. Their remonstrance, being brought to the committee of estates at *Sterling*, was after much debate condemn'd as divisive, factious, and scandalous; in which also the commissioners of the kirk concurr'd; but so nevertheless as, if possible, to bring *Ker* and his party over by fair means; to which purpose, several papers pass'd between them, and all methods were us'd to heal these divisions. Besides these, there was another party in the north, who were purely for the king, without any regard to the kirk.

Various motions of the lord-general *Cromwell*.

WHILST the *Scots* were thus divided among themselves, and their animosities grew higher and higher, the lord-general *Cromwell* was active with his victorious forces, which rang'd at pleasure about the country. Having his head-quarters at *Edinburgh*, and having there given his men all necessary refreshment, he drew out the greatest part of his army for *Sterling*, and with them fac'd the castle, having at first some design to storm it; but perceiving the horse could not well second the foot, he changed his resolution, and returned back to *Edinburgh*. Whither being arriv'd, he order'd all the boats in the *Frith* to be carry'd to *Leith*, to prevent the *Scots* ferrying over into *Fife* in order to join with the enemy there.

IN the mean time preparations were making for the siege of *Edinburgh* castle; in which the lord-general having given the necessary orders and directions, marched away six regiments of foot, and nine of horse and dragoons, for *Glasgow*; and by the way of *Linlithgow*, sent a paper to the committee of estates, to try once more what might be effected

effected by fair means; a copy of which was also at the same time sent to colonel Ker and Straughan, for the same purpose. There was little else remarkable in this expedition, but the taking of a small garrison near Kelsith: And it may be remember'd, that when the *English* came to Glasgow, and saw one of the legs of the late marquess of Montross hanging over the gate; they remembering his valiant actions, took it down and buried it privately.

THE season now admitting of no considerable action, the lord-general returned again to Edinburgh; where he published a proclamation against a company of sturdy fellows, called *Moss-Troopers*, who very much molested the army, and by the treachery and connivance of the country people, kill'd many of the *English* soldiers, and grew so bold as to steal some of the train horses. The proclamation was to this effect: "That finding many He pub-  
" of the army were not ~~only~~ spoil'd and robb'd, lishes a  
" but also others barbarously butchered and slain, proclama-  
" by a sort of out-laws, not under the discipline tion a-  
" of any army; and finding that all tenderness to gainst  
" the country produc'd no other effect, than their the *Moss-*  
" compliance with, and protection of such per-*Troopers*.  
" sons: Therefore, considering that it is in the  
" country's power to detect and discover them;  
" and perceiving their motion to be ordinarily by  
" the invitation and intelligence of country people;  
" he declar'd, that wherever these enormities should  
" be committed for the future, life should be re-  
" quired for life, and a plenary satisfaction for the  
" goods thus stoln, of those parishes and places  
" where the fact should be committed, unless they  
" did discover and produce the offender."

Soon after this proclamation was publish'd, colonel *Monk*, with a commanded party of foot, four pieces of ordnance, and a mortar-piece, was sent to reduce *Derlington* house, one of the nests of these *Moss-Troopers*; which, being join'd by *Lambert*,

*Monk re-*  
*duces*  
*Derlington*  
*house.*

1650.

he soon effected, taking all that were within prisoners; whereof two of the most notorious, with their captain, one *Waite*, were presently shot to death. After this, *Monk* taking with him a party of six hundred foot, march'd against *Roslan* castle; where, tho' at first he met with some resistance, it was quickly surrender'd to him.

*And Roslan* castle.

Victory  
over *Ker*  
and his  
party in  
the west.

THE lord-general, who would not let slip any opportunity, made what use he could of the differences and dissensions that were in *Scotland*, and endeavour'd to improve them to his own advantage. To this end, he sent several times to *Ker* and *Straughan* in the west, to invite them to come in to him. This had that good effect, that *Straughan* shortly after withdrew himself from his party, and clos'd with the *English*, leaving *Ker* to command all himself. The lord-general still endeavour'd to draw him over, but all in vain; and having an especial eye upon this party, since he could not prevail by fair means, he resolv'd, notwithstanding the difficulty of marching at that time of the year, to endeavour to reduce them by force. Accordingly, about the end of *November*, he order'd major-general *Lambert*, and commissary-general *Whalley*, with five regiments of horse, to march from *Peebles* to *Hamilton*, on the south side of the river *Glyde*; whilst himself march'd from *Edinburgh* on the north side. Having staid here some small time, till he had good intelligence where *Lambert* and his party were; and withal, the weather being very bad, he march'd back again to *Edinburgh*. *Ker* having notice of this, as also that *Lambert* was at *Hamilton*, thought he had now an opportunity to surprize him: And accordingly setting upon a sudden march in the night, with about fifteen hundred horse, he before day with great fury broke into *Lambert's* quarters; and meeting with no resistance at his first entry, he confidently march'd up to the middle of the town. But a captain with about forty soldiers

soldiers having upon the alarm suddenly mounted, 1650.  
and being favour'd by a tree that lay cross the street, obstructed their march till the whole garrison was alarm'd. The suddenness of this attempt put the *English* into some surprize ; but soon recovering themselves, they, to make sure work of it, left part of their forces in the town, to encounter the enemy, and to secure the rear, whilst the rest drew out with design to surround the enemy's whole party ; who, perceiving this in time, very dexterously fac'd about, and betook themselves to flight. In this encounter, which was but short, near a hundred of the *Scots* were slain, and as many made prisoners. *Ker* himself was wounded and taken, with his lieutenant-colonel and captain-lieutenant. Those who fled were pursu'd as far as *Air*, where a party of a hundred and fifty, being the chief remains of the *remonstrators*, were also put to the rout. This success was the more considerable, in that it would have been very difficult to have engag'd them against their will ; for they being well acquainted with the country, and having the inhabitants on their side, could march about as they pleas'd ; whereas 'twould have been very dangerous for the *English* to have follow'd them without a great part of their army ; *Lesley* then lying at *Sterling* with the *Scotch* forces, watching all advantages.

THIS seasonable victory was soon follow'd by the surrender of *Edinburgh* castle, the most considerable strong-hold in *Scotland*, which was thought impregnable by situation and art. It is seated upon a high abrupt rock, has but one entrance into it, and that both steep, and by which but two or three can go a-breast, and overlooks and commands all places about it ; so that the lord-general's men were often very much gall'd in their quarters at *Edinburgh*, by the great guns playing from thence.

WHEN general *Cromwell* came first before this strong place, which was soon after the defeat at

*Dunbar*,

1650. Dunbar, he summon'd the governour, colonel *William Dundass*, to deliver it up to him ; which having no effect, he began to consult with his chief officers how to reduce it by force. Nothing seem'd to encourage the attempting of it by storm ; and all probable ways being debated, it was at last resolv'd to force it by mines. In order to this work, both *English* and *Scotch* miners were sent for, and towards the latter end of *September*, the galleries were begun in the night ; which the besieged no sooner saw, but they fell to firing upon it with five great guns, and several vollies of small shot. But this prov'd no impediment to the *English*, who with indefatigable labour wrought thro' the earth, till they came to the main rock. This put them to a stand, but did not make them give over ; for having contriv'd ways to make holes in the rock, they fill'd them full of powder, and endeavour'd to make it fly by firing.

But this mining work going but slowly on, the lord-general fearing it would not answer his design, and that he should not be able to blow the castle up into the air, endeavour'd now to level it with the ground ; and to that end, with mighty labout and pains, he rais'd a battery fortify'd with gabions and other contrivances, designing to play incessantly from thence with cannons and mortars. The governour was very much amaz'd at this, who now began to think it a vain thing to endeavour to withstand the *English* industry ; tho' it must be said of him, that he did his utmost to answer the expectations of those by whom he was entrusted with this important charge. The battery, notwithstanding all obstructions, being rais'd to a convenient height, four mortar-pieces and six battering guns were drawn from *Leith*, and forthwith mounted against the castle. But before the word of command was given, the lord-general thought fit once more to summon the governour ; which he did on the

1650.

fith of December, in the following terms ; " That he being resolv'd, by God's assistance, to use such means as were put into his hands, for the reducing of the castle, did, for preventing further misery, demand the rendering of the place to him upon fit conditions." To this the governour return'd this answer, " That being entrusted by the committee of estates of Scotland, for the keeping of the castle, he could not deliver it up without leave from them : And therefore he desir'd ten days time to send to them, and receive their answer ; upon receipt whereof the general should receive his resolute answer." But the lord-general knowing his time was precious, made this sudden reply, " That it concern'd not him to know the obligations of them that trusted him ; but that he might have honourable terms for himself, and those that were with him : But he could not give liberty to him to consult with the committee of estates, because he heard those among them that were honest, enjoy'd not satisfaction, and the rest were now discover'd to seek another interest than they had formerly pretended to ; in which, if he desir'd to be satisfy'd, he might have information at a nearer distance than St. John's-town."

'TWAS design'd, that this parley should continue till ten in the morning, December 13. but some great shot flying from the castle the night before, order was given the next morning to try the mortar-pieces, three with shells, and the fourth with stones. Which being done accordingly, the governour thereupon returned an answer to the general's last message ; in which " He adjur'd him in the fear and name of the living God (which was call'd upon in the acceptance of his great trust) that liberty might be granted for him to send to the committee of estates ; and said, that he would be very willing to receive information

" from

1650. " from those of his countrymen whom he could trust." To this the lord-general reply'd, " That whoever he would appoint to come to him, should have liberty for one hour ; but to send to the committee of estates, he could not grant." The governour took no notice of this, till the mortar-pieces and great guns had for some small time play'd with great violence against the castle. This moved him to send forth a drum, desiring a conference with the provost of *Aberdeen*, and one more then in *Edinburgh* ; to which the general readily consented : But they knowing it to be an affair of the utmost importance, absolutely refus'd to concern themselves in it, leaving the governour to take his own course. Hereupon *Dundass* was in great perplexity, and knew not what to do ; till having revolv'd the matter a little in his mind, he at last came to this result, to acquit himself manfully in the defence of the place. Accordingly a red ensign was immediately hung out in defiance on the top of the castle, and the great guns began to roar from the battlements of the wall. Upon this, the lord-general thought it high time for him to exert his utmost force ; and accordingly sent in upon them such continual showers of shot, that the governour in a short time thought fit to beat a parley, and offered to surrender, if his former request, of sending to the committee of estates, might be granted. But this being still refus'd, *Dundass* and his soldiers thought it not good to hold out any longer against such violent assaults ; and so entering upon a treaty with the lord-general, came to an agreement upon these articles : " First, That the castle of *Edinburgh*, the cannon, arms, ammunition, magazines, and furniture of war, be delivered up to the lord-general *Cromwell*. Secondly, That the Scots have liberty to carry away their publick registers, publick moveables, private evidences

'Tis sur-  
render'd  
to Crom-  
well.

" and

“ and writs, into *Fife* or *Sterling*. *Thirdly,* 1650.  
“ That as to those goods in the castle belonging  
“ to any person whatsoever, the owners should  
“ have them restored to them : This to be pro-  
“ claim’d, that all might take notice of it. *Fourthly,*  
“ That the governour, and all military officers,  
“ and soldiers, might depart without molestation,  
“ carrying their arms and baggage, with drums  
“ beating and colours flying, to *Bruntisland* in *Fife*:  
“ Moreover, the sick and wounded soldiers to stay  
“ in *Edinburgh* till cured, and then to receive the  
“ same benefit of articles with the rest of their  
“ fellows.”

ACCORDING to these articles, this strong ca-  
stle, which gloried in its virginity, as having never  
before yielded to any conqueror, was after a siege of  
three months, deliver’d up to the victorious *Crom-  
well* on the 24th day of *December*; whereby there  
also fell into his hands fifty three pieces of ordnance,  
some of them remarkable both for size and beauty,  
eight thousand arms, fourscore barrels of powder,  
and all the king’s hangings, tapestry and jewels.  
The subduing of this place was a thing so unex-  
pected by several, that the *Scots* cry’d out, *That  
Cromwell took it only by silver bullets*. But what  
appeared most strange to others, and which made  
well on general *Cromwell’s* side, was, *That the  
Scotch army*, which lay not very far off, should  
never attempt the relief of this most important  
place.

THE main business the *Scots* were now intent up- The king  
on, was the coronation of the king; which had been crown’d at  
long delay’d by the kirk and states, that he might Scone.  
have time to bumble himself for his father’s sins and  
his own transgressions. But the vigorous proceedings  
of the *English* put them at last upon hastening that  
which they of themselves were backward enough  
in. The first of *January* was appointed for this  
solemnity, which was perform’d at *Scone*, with the  
greatest

1650. greatest pomp and magnificence that the present state of the nation was capable of. His majesty having subseribed both the covenants, the marquels of Argyle set the crown upon his head; at which the people express'd their joy by their loud acclamations of *God save king Charles the second.* The main design now was to form such an army, as might not only secure what they had still in their hands, but drive the *English* (whom they now call'd the *common enemy*) quite out of their country. To effect this, all persons were now promiscuously admitted into the army, commissions were granted for raising horse and foot, and new commanders were appointed. His majesty set up his royal standard at *Aberdeen*, to which great numbers of volunteers and honorary soldiers flock'd from all parts. From thence he marched to *Sterling*; where having muster'd his army, he made duke *Hamilton* his lieutenant-general, *David Lesley* major-general, *Middleton* major-general of the horse, and *Massey* general of the *English* troops.

THE lord-general *Cromwell* observing these proceedings, was very little concerned at them. However, to make sure work, he endeavour'd to possess himself of all those garrisons of the *Scots*, which were on the south side of the *Firth*. To this end, he order'd colonel *Fenwick* with his own regiment, and colonel *Syler's*, to reduce *Hume-castle* under his obedience. *Fenwick* immediately upon his receiving these orders, applyed himself accordingly to the work; and having drawn his men up before the castle, sent a summons to the governour, as follows:

“ His excellency, the lord-general *Cromwell*, hath  
 “ commanded me to reduce this castle, you now  
 “ possess, under his obedience; which if you now  
 “ deliver into my hands, for his service, you shall  
 “ have terms for yourself and those with you: If  
 “ you refuse, I doubt not but in a short time, by  
 “ God's assistance, to obtain what I now demand.

Colonel  
*Fenwick*  
 reduces  
*Hume-cas-  
 tle.*

“ I

" I expect your answer by seven of the clock to- 1650.  
" morrow morning, and rest your servant, George  
" Fenwick."

THE governour, whose name was *Cockburn*, being, it seeins, a man of fancy, returned him this quibbling answer: " Right honourable, I have receiv'd a trumpeter of yours, as he tells me, without a pass, to surrender *Hume-castle* to the lord-general *Cromwell*: Please you, I never saw your general. As for *Hume-castle*, it stands upon a rock. Given at *Hume-castle* this day before seven a-clock. So resteth, without prejudice to my native country, your most humble servant, *Tb. Cockburn*." And soon after he sent the colonel these lines:

*I William of the Waſtle  
Am now in my castle:  
And awe the dogs in the town  
Shan't gar me gang down.*

BUT the governour did not long continue in this merry humour: For *Fenwick* having planted a battery against the castle, and made a small breach, as the *English* were just ready to enter, *Cockburn* beat a parley. But the colonel would now allow only quarter for life; which being accepted, the governour with his garrison, being seventy eight commanders and private soldiers, march'd out of the castle; which captain *Collinson* with his company immediately enter'd, to keep it for the parliament.

COLONEL *Monk* was also detatch'd with about three regiments of horse and foot, to reduce *Tantallon-castle*. Being come before it, he found the Scots very refractory, whereupon he caus'd the mortar-pieces to play for eight and forty hours: But these did little execution; till six battering guns being planted, were so well manag'd, that the governour

Colonel  
*Monk* re-  
duces  
*Tantallon-*  
*castle*.

1650. vernour and those that were with him were forc'd  
to submit to mercy.

Proceedings of the king and his party. THE king having now got some authority, visited all the garrisons in *Fife*, and endeavoured to put them in such a posture as to hinder the *English* from landing on that side the *Frith*. To this end also he drew from *Sterling* such horse and foot as could be well spar'd, and quarter'd them all along the water-side. Then he visited the highlanders, endeavouring to compose the dissensions that were amongst them, and to prevail on them to rise unanimously for him. *Middleton* marched out of these parts with a considerable body of horse and foot: And about the same time, the town of *Dundee*, as a testimony of their great respect to the king, and to shew their forwardness in promoting his interest, advanced at their own charge a compleat well arm'd regiment of horse, whom they sent with a stately tent, and six field-piece with carriages and ammunition, as a present to his majesty then at *Sterling*; where all being join'd, made up an army of twenty thousand men. And endeavours were still used for augmenting this army; for which purpose, the earl of *Eglanton*, with some other commanders, was sent into the *West*, to raise what forces they could. These coming to *Dumbarton* to execute their commissions, were suddenly surpriz'd by a party of horse sent thither by colonel *Lilburn*, for that purpose; who took the earl himself, his son colonel *Montgomery*, lieutenant-colonel *Colburn*, &c. and brought them prisoners to *Edinburgh*.

Great care of the parliament in providing supplies for the army. IN the mean time, the parliament of *England* had a special regard to their army in *Scotland*, providing for their welfare in all respects. They took care to procure sufficient supplies both of men, money and provisions, which they were continually sending away to them; so that never was an army better provided for than this, as no soldiers ever deserv'd better encouragement than these. Particularly,

cularly, admiral *Dean* arrived about this time at *Leith* with large supplies from *London*; and amongst other conveniences, brought along with him seven and twenty great flat-bottomed boats, for transporting the army over into *Fife*. And not long after, captain *Butler* arriv'd at the same place in the *Success* (a stout ship formerly taken from the French) with eighty thousand pounds for the payment of the soldiers.

THE lord-general *Cromwell* had for some time laboured under a very great indisposition, occasioned by the unsuitableness of the climate, and the extreme rigour of the winter season in those parts. This confin'd him wholly to his chamber, and utterly disabled him to act in person with the army, how great occasion soever there might be. Now was the *English* army under very sad apprehensions; and yet they were not so much dejected and dishearten'd, as the *Scots* were elevated and transported at this news; who highly pleas'd themselves with the very fancy of his death; and thereupon readily believ'd the slightest report of it to be true; and when once the conceit had possess'd them, could scarce by any means be brought to believe the contrary; so that a *Scotch* trumpeter coming out of *Fife* to *Edinburgh*, about the restoration of a ship which the *English* had taken, very confidently affirmed to the soldiers, that their general was dead; and said, they did well to conceal it, but all the world should not make him believe otherwise. This coming to the general's ear, who was now in a very fair way of recovery, to convince the man of his mistake, he order'd him to be brought before him. And the conceit was so strongly fix'd in him, that nothing but this could have removed it. However, being now effectually convinc'd, he at his return assur'd those who sent him of the falsity of this report, which had pass'd so currently in the *Scotch* army. After the lord-general had been

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somewhat recover'd, he fell into a very dangerous relapse, which, if he had not been of an extraordinary strong constitution, might have ended his days. But the rulers in *England*, very much fearing the loss of their general, as knowing no man so fit for that high employment, first of all sent him two eminent physicians, Dr. *Wright* and Dr. *Bates*; and presently after, dispatched an order into *Scotland*, permitting him to leave the busineſs of the army, and repair into *England*, for the recovery of his health and strength, as thinking the air of *Scotland* might be the occasion of his illness. Upon the receipt of this, he wrote a letter to the lord president of the council of state, dated *June 3d*, which is as follows:

His letter  
to the  
council of  
state.

" My lord, I have receiv'd yours of the 27th  
" of May, with an order of parliament for my li-  
" berty to return into *England*, for change of air,  
" that thereby I might the better recover my  
" health: All which came unto me, whilst Dr.  
" *Wright* and Dr. *Bates*, whom your lordship sent  
" down, were with me. I shall not need to re-  
" peat the extremity of my last sickness: It was so  
" violent, that indeed my nature was not able to  
" bear the weight thereof; but the Lord was pleased  
" to deliver me beyond expectation, and to give  
" me cause to say once more, *He hath plucked me  
" out of the grave*. My lord, the indulgence of the  
" parliament, express'd by their order, is a very  
" high and undeserved favour; of which, although  
" it be fit I keep a thankful remembrance; yet I  
" judge it would be too much presumption in me  
" not to return a particular acknowledgment. I  
" beseech you, give me the boldness to return my  
" humble thankfulness to the council, for sending  
" two such worthy persons so great a journey to  
" visit me; from whom I have received much en-  
" couragement and good direction for recovery of  
" my health and strength, which I find, by the  
" goodness

“ goodness of God, growing towards such a state,  
 “ as may yet, if it be his good will, render me useful  
 “ according to my poor ability, in the station  
 “ wherein he hath set me. I wish more steadiness  
 “ in your affairs here, than to depend in the least  
 “ upon so frail a thing as I am: Indeed they do  
 “ not, nor own any instrument. *This cause is of*  
 “ *God, and it must prosper.* Oh! that all that have  
 “ any hand therein, being so persuaded, would gird  
 “ up the loins of their minds, and endeavour in  
 “ all things to walk worthy of the Lord. So  
 “ prays, my lord, your most humble servant, O.  
 “ Cromwell.”

ABOUT this time a plot was discover'd in *England*, which had been carried on by the *Presbyterian* party, and chiefly by the ministers of that persuasion, in order to promote the designs of their *Scottish* brethren, and help forward his majesty's restoration to the *English* throne, as a king under sufficient limitations, and now in covenant with them. For this Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Jenkins*, Mr. *Case*, and Mr. *Drake*, very eminent *Presbyterian* divines, besides some others of the laity, were apprehended by order of the council of state. *Jenkins*, *Case* and *Drake* confess'd themselves guilty, and, that the party might not be too much irritated, were upon their humble submission pardon'd. But *Love*, as being more guilty than any of the rest, was, together with one *Gibbons*, beheaded on *Tower-hill*, on the 22d of *August*. He was condemn'd on *July* 5, and the day of execution was appointed to be on the 15th, before which time many petitions were presented from himself and his friends to the parliament, for saving his life, but to no purpose; till on the very day that was appointed for his execution, several ministers, in and about *London*, came to the house, “ Praying earnestly, and in the bowels of *Jesus Christ*, who, when they were sinners, died for them, if not totally to spare the

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A Presby-

terian

plot.

For which

Mr. *Love*

is execu-

ted.

1651. " life of their dear brother, that yet they would  
 say of him as *Solomon of Abiathar*, That at this  
 time he shall not be put to death." Upon this he  
 was repriev'd for one month; during which time,  
 all possible follicitations were us'd to those in pow-  
 er, and particular application was made to the lord-  
 general *Cromwell* in *Scotland*, who sent back a let-  
 ter signifying his free consent to the pardon of  
 him: But some cavaliers stopping the post-boy, and  
 searching his packet, with great indignation tore the  
 lord-general's letter, that concern'd Mr. *Love*, as  
 thinking he deserv'd not to live, who, according  
 to them, had been such an incendiary in the treaty  
 at *Uxbridge*. And so the parliament and council  
 of state hearing nothing from the general, they took  
 it for granted, that his silence was design'd as an  
 absolute denial; upon which *Love* was executed on  
 the foresaid day.

The gene-  
ral pre-  
pares for  
action.

GENERAL *Cromwell* was no sooner able to stir  
 abroad, but with eager desire of action, he con-  
 sulted with his chief officers to carry on the war.  
 For this purpose, it was thought proper to contract  
 their quarters by drawing in the out-guards, or pet-  
 ty garrisons, which were of little use, and were of-  
 ten very much molested by the *Scots*. And now  
 the army being thus drawn together into one body,  
 were supply'd with thirty three waggons and car-  
 riages for the train from *Berwick*; and all things  
 being in readiness for the campaign, the lord-ge-  
 neral, on June 24th, order'd the army to advance  
 to *Redhaugh*, where they staid not long, but march'd  
 from thence to *Pencland* hills, a place well known  
 to the *English*. Here they encamp'd in a most  
 comely and regular order; and the lord-general  
 feasted his officers in his tent, with several of their  
 ladies, as the lady *Lambert*, and major-general  
*Dean's* lady, and many other *English* gentlewomen,  
 who came from *Leith* to see the soldiers in their  
 tents.

THE

THE army having continu'd some small time in this posture, the lord-general, in order to carry on the present design, march'd them away to *Newbridge*, and from thence to *Lithgow*; where, from the battlements of the castle, they could discern the tents of the *Scotch* army, which lay encamp'd at *Torwood* near *Sterling*; where they were guarded with regular fortifications, the horse in great bodies lying about them for security, who were also fenced with a river and with bogs; so that the *English* could not possibly drive them out of this fastness. However, the lord-general, to try whether he could provoke them to come and fight, march'd his army in battalia so near their main body, that their tents might be perfectly seen; and so stood for the space of eight hours, waiting for the coming of the *Scots*; who thinking it better to spin out time, than to put all to the hazard of a battle, would not come out to engage. Hereupon, the lord-general drew off his army to *Glasgow*, where having somewhat refresh'd his wearied men, he march'd them back again; and understanding that the *Scots* had remov'd their camp to *Kelso*, he wheel'd about, and shortly after quarter'd his army at *Monks-land*, within four miles of the enemy. But they still refus'd to engage, and the general could not attack them without the greatest hazard.

THIS so provok'd him, that he resolv'd to fall upon part of their forces, that defended *Calendar-house*. And so on the 15th of July, he order'd two battering guns to be planted, which having play'd with great violence for about eight hours, at last beat down the walls in several places. Notwithstanding which, the governour expecting relief from the *Scotch* army, which lay in sight of him, resolv'd to hold out to the utmost. Upon which, the lord-general sent ten files out of every regiment, to force them out, since they could not be prevail'd on to submit. These brave fellows having provided

He marches towards the enemy.

1651.

1651. themselves with faggots, presently unloaded themselves into the enemy's moat, and so springing over into the breach, in half an hour's time wholly possessed themselves of the house, having slain the governour, with sixty two of his men. The Scotch army all this while look'd on, and, as if they were not at all concern'd in the matter, did not send one hand to the relief of their friends.

THE lord-general finding that he could by no means provoke the Scots to a battle, resolv'd now to bid fair for Fife, that thereby he might cut off those supplies from them, that enabled them to protract time and prolong the war. Accordingly, immediately after the taking of *Calendar-house*, the valiant colonel *Overton*, with sixteen hundred foot and four troops of horse, put out into the *Forth*, being order'd to land at the *North-ferry* in *Fife*; which he did in spight of those showers of great and small shot, that were pour'd upon him as he approach'd the shoar; in return to which he caused his men to fire upon them out of the boats; which they did with so much courage and bravery, that the Scots were forc'd to break off the dispute, and betake themselves to flight, leaving behind them part of their arms and artillery. In the mean time, general *Cromwell* kept close up to the Scots with the main body of his army, intending to fall upon their rear, in case they mov'd to disturb this enterprize. However, the king sent major-general *Brown* and colonel *Holborn* with four thousand men to force the enemy out of *Fife* again; but before they could come up to them, *Lambert* and *Okey* pass'd over the *Forth* with two regiments of horse and two of foot, and join'd with *Overton*.

*The bat-  
tle of Fife.* And so the *English*, with this unexpected reinforcement, falling upon *Brown* and *Holborn*, entirely defeated them, killing two thousand upon the spot, and taking prisoners major-general *Brown* himself, one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, thirteen captains,

captains, seventeen lieutenants, twenty nine ensigns, five quarter-masters, six and twenty serjeants, five and twenty corporals, and above twelve hundred common soldiers, with two and forty colours of horse and foot. *Brown* being thus defeated and reduc'd to the condition of a prisoner, liv'd not long after; dying, as was thought, of very grief for this sad disaster. Thus the *English* got sure footing on the other side of the *Firth*; and this overthrow prov'd the bane of the *Scotch* affairs.

SOON after this blow, the *English* took in garris-  
sons almost as fast as they approach'd them. *Lam-  
bert*, in the first place, came before a strong fort  
call'd *Innesgary*, situated in an *Isle* lying in the  
*Firth*, betwixt *Queen's-Ferry* and the pass into *Fife*.  
The garrison here was so terrify'd at the news of  
the late overthrow, that being summoned by *Lam-  
bert*, they were content to march away with only  
their swords by their sides, and deliver up the fort,  
with all the arms, ammunition and provisions, and  
sixteen pieces of ordnance, to the *English*. About  
this time, a minister and two students came from  
*Angus* to the lord-general *Cromwell* for protection:  
One of them was excommunicated for not answering  
the two following questions: 1. *Whether Presbyte-  
rian government in Scotland be not in all things con-  
form to the word of God?* 2. *Whether Cromwell be  
not anticchristian?*

THE news of the defeat in *Fife* being brought to  
the king, who still lay strongly encamp'd in *Tor-  
wood*, occasion'd so great a consternation in his army,  
that with great precipitation he decamp'd, and  
march'd into *Sterling park*. General *Cromwell*' fol-  
low'd speedily after them in the rear, and marching  
over the ground where they so lately lay, he per-  
ceiv'd with what a pannic fear they had been seiz'd:  
For they had left behind them all their sick men,  
one barrel of powder, three of ball, a great deal  
of match, many muskets, and three barrels of hand-

1651. granadoes. The lord-general followed them within two miles of *Sterling*, endeavouring to provoke them to an engagement, but all in vain, they making all the haste they could to secure themselves. Hereupon the general, perceiving it was to no purpose to continue here, on the 22d of *July* march'd away his army to *Litgow*; from whence he caused the greatest part of them to be transported over into *Fife*, with the train of artillery, in order to carry on the war on the other side of the water. The general himself retir'd to *Leith*, to provide for the supply of his soldiers; and here he receiv'd the welcome news of the surrender of *Bruntisland* to *Lambert*; who having brought the army before it, the governour of the place was so dismay'd, that after a short parley he deliver'd it up on these conditions: "First, That the soldiers in garrison (being about five hundred) should march away with colours flying. Secondly, That the inhabitants of the town should have what belong'd to them. Thirdly, That all provisions of war, together with all guns and shipping of war, should be deliver'd up for the use of the commonwealth of *England*." This place was of great advantage to the *English*; for it being a very commodious harbour, the army might from thence, in the course of their conquests, have continued supplies of all that was necessary and convenient for them.

The gene-  
ral passes  
over into  
*Fife*. GENERAL *Cromwell* having settled matters at *Leith*, immediately cross'd the *Firth* to his army, which was then at *Bruntisland*; and so dispatching *Whalley* to reduce the smaller garrisons upon the coast of *Fife*, and leaving colonel *West's* regiment in *Bruntisland*, he with the rest of the army and train of artillery, on the 30th of *July*, march'd away towards *St. John's-town*; that by reducing that important place under his power, he might prevent the *Highlanders* from sending any supplies, either of men or provisions, to *Sterling*. Being come before

*Bruntis-  
land sur-  
render'd to  
Lambert.*

fore it, he sent this summons to the town. "That 1651.  
" being inform'd the town was void of a garrison,  
" save the inhabitants and some few countrymen, He takes  
St. John's-  
town.  
" he requir'd them to deliver the same to him im-  
" mediately; promising to secure their persons  
" from violence, and their goods from plunder."

The messenger, who carry'd this summons was, contrary to the expectation of the *English*, deny'd admittance, and came back with this short reply from the townsmen, *That they were not in a capacity to receive any letters.* But to excuse the matter, the magistrates soon sent after him a message, declaring, "That the king's majesty had sent a very strong party, able to maintain the town, and overpower them with a governour: But always to observe civility with his lordship, they had obtain'd leave from the governour to excuse themselves, by shewing how unable they were to treat." It seems, the lord *Duffus* had the day before enter'd the town with thirteen hundred men; but the lord-general, upon his refusal of the new summons which he sent him, having drain'd the water out of the moats round about the town, and battered the walls with his cannon, oblig'd him to surrender in a day's time.

THESE wonderful successes, which attended the *English* arms, threw the king's affairs in *Scotland* in great perplexity and distress; whereupon he began to think of making an irruption into *England*. The king *England* in great perplexity. He was now much nearer *England* than general *Cromwell*, who could not possibly overtake him, till after his majesty had been some days march before him. His fate depended upon the success of one battle; and he had reason to believe, that all the northern parts of *England* were well-affected to him; whither if he could once reach, he might hope to encrease his army by the accession of such men as would render it much more considerable. Upon this, it was resolv'd, that the army should with

1651. with all possible expedition advance into *England*, by the nearest ways that led into *Lancashire*; whether his majesty sent expresses to his friends in those parts, that they might have their soldiers in a readiness to receive him. He also sent an express to the earl of *Derby*, who was then in the *Isle of Man*, requiring him to meet him in *Lancashire*. The marques of *Argyle* was the only person who dissuaded the king from marching into *England*, and that with no inconsiderable arguments; but the contrary opinion prevailing, *Argyle* retir'd to his house in the *Highlands*: And so, on the last day of *July*, the king began his march from *Sterling*, and on the 6th of *August* enter'd *England* by the way of *Carlisle*, with an army of about fifteen thousand men.

His army  
enters  
*England*.

General  
*Cromwell*  
sends  
*Lambert*  
after him.

THE noise of this sudden invasion gave a most terrible alarm to the whole nation, especially to the parliament at *Westminster*, who were still more dismay'd at the reports of the greatness of the king's army, and his design of mounting his foot-soldiers, and advancing directly to *London*. They were now ready to pass severe censures on the lord-general *Cromwell*, and condemned him of rashness and precipitation; whilst he in the mean time took care to satisfy them as well as he could, and assur'd them, "That he would overtake the enemy, and give a good account of them, before they should give them any trouble." Accordingly, that he might lose no time, he order'd major-general *Lambert* "To follow the king immediately with seven or eight hundred horse, and to draw as many others as he could from the country militia; and to molest the king's march as much as possible, by being near, and obliging him to march close; not engaging his own party in any sharp actions, without a very manifest advantage, but keeping himself entire till he should come up to him."

T H E

THE parliament also exerted themselves to the 1651.  
utmost on this occasion. The militia of most  
counties was order'd to be drawn into the field,  
to obstruct the king's march. Two thousand out  
of *Staffordshire*, and four thousand out of *Lan-*  
*cashire* and *Cheshire*, under the command of co-  
lonel *Birch*, join'd with *Lambert* and *Harrison*.  
The parliament's  
proceed-  
ings a-  
gainst  
him.

The lord *Fairfax* drew out into the field with a  
formidable body, to flank the king's army ; the  
militia of the city of *London* was commanded out,  
and all the adjacent counties were strictly enjoyn'd  
by the parliament to set out horse and men at  
their own charges. An act was also published,  
wherein it was declar'd, " That no person what-  
" soever should presume to hold any correspon-  
" dence with *Charles Stuart*, or with his party,  
" or with any of them, nor give any intelligence  
" to them, nor countenance, encourage, abet,  
" adhere to, or assist any of them ; nor volunta-  
" rily afford, or cause to be afforded or delivered  
" unto any of them, any victuals, provisions,  
" ammunition, arms, horses, plate, money, men,  
" or any other relief whatsoever, under pain of  
" high-treason : And that all persons should use  
" their utmost endeavours to hinder and stop  
" their march."

THE lord-general *Cromwell* being now ready to The gene-  
ral leav-  
ing Monk  
in Scotland  
marches  
into Eng-  
land.  
march into *England* in pursuit of the *Scotch* army, endeavour'd to settle the affairs of *Scotland* in such a posture, as effectually to secure what was already obtain'd ; and gave all the necessary orders to lieutenant-general *Monk*, whom he resolv'd to leave behind him with a strong party of foot, and such troops of horse, as might be able to quell any forces which should rise after his departure. This done, the victorious *Cromwell*, with the remainder of the army, marched out of *Scotland*, and on the 12th of *August* crossed the *Tine* : With which swift march being quite wearied out, he caus'd the army

1651. army to pitch their tents on *Ryson-Haugh*, upon the brink of the *Tine*, whilst himself took up his quarters at *Stelly-house*, not far from his soldiers. The mayor of *Newcastle* understanding that the army was near the town, immediately went out, accompanied with the rest of the magistrates, to congratulate the lord-general's arrival in *England*; and that they might be the more welcome to the soldiers, carried along with them, bread, cheese, bisket, and beer, for the refreshment of the army. These supplies were very seasonable, and enabled the soldiers chearfully to continue their march.

**The**  
march of  
the *Scots*.  
THE *Scots* in the mean time by a swift march went on in prosecution of their present design. The king led them through *Lancashire*, where at the head of his army he was in all the market-towns he pass'd through proclaim'd king of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*. But he met not with that encouragement which he expected; for besides that the *Scots* daily deserted him, the country did not come in to him as he believed they would, being continually obstructed by the forces of the commonwealth, which spread themselves over all places. The king with his army marched on towards *Warrington* on the borders of *Cheshire*, the passage of which bridge was sharply contested by *Lambert* and his party, but was at last obtained by the king, the *Scots*, as they fell on, crying out, *Ob you Rogues! We will be with you before your Cromwell comes.* The king resolv'd to continue his march with the same expedition as he had us'd hitherto, till they should come to such a post where they might securely rest themselves; which the poor soldiers very much desir'd, being extreamly fatigu'd with the length of their march, and the heat of the season. His majesty hoping the interest that major-general *Massey* had in *Glocestershire*, would draw a great many in to him from those parts, resolved to direct his march that way.

way. At last looking upon Worcester as a proper place, he determined to settle there with his army ; and accordingly, on the 23d day of *August*, he enter'd that city with very little opposition ; where he resolv'd to abide, and expect the coming of his enemy ; and that he might not be wanting in any thing, that might tend to the preservation of himself and forces, he order'd works to be raised for better security. Then he sent a summons to colonel *Mackworth* governour of *Shrewsbury*, inviting him to yield up that garrison to him ; to which the governour return'd a peremptory denial. He also sent letters to Sir *Thomas Middleton*, to raise forces for him in *Montgomeryshire* ; but Sir *Thomas* detain'd the messenger prisoner, and sent up the letter to the parliament. A day or two after the king had taken up his quarters at *Worcester*, he received the melancholy news of the defeat of the earl of *Derby*. This brave man was the only person, who made any considerable attempt to support the king. He got together a body of fifteen hundred horse ; but before he could join the king's army, colonel *Lilburn* set upon him near *Wigan*, and entirely routed him. The earl himself being wounded, retreated into *Cheshire*, with about eighty horse, and from thence to the king at *Worcester*.

1651.  
They  
come to  
Worcester.

In the mean time, general *Cromwell* having refresh'd his soldiers near *Newcastle*, immediately march'd away by *Rippon*, *Ferry-briggs*, *Doncaster*, *Mansfield* and *Coventry* ; and at *Keinton* join'd with the rest of the parliament's forces, under lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*, major-general *Desborough*, the lord *Grey of Groby*, major-general *Lambert*, and major-general *Harrison* ; making in all about thirty thousand men. The commonwealth had indeed by their new levies encreased their forces to a prodigious number ; and *England* never before produced so many soldiers in so short

General  
*Cromwell*  
marches  
after them.

1651. a time : For the standing army, with those other forces newly rais'd by act of parliament, upon this occasion, are said to have amounted to above sixty thousand men.

THE lord-general being come up, and having observ'd the posture of the enemy's army, began with an attempt upon *Upton-bridge*, seven miles from *Worcester*, designing there, if possible, to pass over his army. *Lambert* was appointed to manage this affair, who immediately detach'd a small party of horse and dragoons, to see how feasible the enterprize might be. This party coming to the bridge, found it broken down, all but one plank. Over this these daring fellows pass'd, who finding the *Scots* took the alarm, presently betook themselves to a church for security. Hereupon *Massey*, who lay at *Upton* with about sixty dragoons, and two hundred horse, gave a camisado on the church ; but major-general *Lambert*, having in the mean time pass'd over a new supply of horse, fell furiously upon the enemy's party, and over-powering them, forc'd them to a retreat ; which *Massey* supported with so much bravery, that sometimes facing, then fighting, and so falling off, himself brought up the rear, and never quitted his station, till he arriv'd with his men at *Worcester*. In this encounter his horse was kill'd under him, and he received a shot in his arm. The bridge being thus gain'd, all possible industry was us'd to make it up ; so that lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*'s army quickly pass'd over ; which still marching forward, they laid a bridge over the *Teame*, which falls into the *Severn*, about a mile beneath *Worcester* : And the general, in the mean time, caused a bridge of boats to be laid over the *Severn* on his side ; and this for the better conjunction of the army, and that the enemy might be the more straiten'd.

1651.

THE *Scots* drawing out to oppose the lieutenant-general's passage, the lord-general resolved to divert their design, or to oblige them to fight on great disadvantage : To which end, himself in person led over the river two regiments of foot, colonel *Hacker*'s horse, and his own life-guard, on that side of *Worcester*, which he design'd to attack. Whilst this was doing, lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*, assisted by colonel *Goff*'s and major-general *Dean*'s regiments of foot, maintain'd a brave fight from hedge to hedge, which the *Scots* had lin'd thick with musqueteers, judging that to be the safest way. And indeed they stoutly maintained their ground, till colonel *Blake*'s, *Gibbon*'s and *Marsh*'s regiments came in and join'd with the others against them ; upon which they retreated to *Powick-bridge*, where they were again engag'd by colonel *Hains*, *Cobbet* and *Matthews* ; and perceiving they were not able to prevail, they thought fit at last to secure themselves by flying into *Worcester*.

PRESENTLY after, the king calling a council of war, it was resolved to engage *Cromwell* himself. Accordingly, they on a sudden sally'd out against him with so much fury, that his invincible life-guard could not sustain the shock, but was forced to retire in some disorder ; and his cannon likewise were for some time in the power of the king's party : But multitudes of fresh forces coming in, at last turn'd the scale on *Cromwell*'s side. The battle continued for three or four hours with great fierceness and various success, till the *Scots* being over-power'd by *Cromwell*'s superior force, were totally routed, flying away in great confusion to secure themselves. The horse made as fast as they could back again towards the north ; but the foot ran into the city, being closely pursu'd by some of the conquerors, who furiously flew thro' all the streets, doing such terrible execution, that there was nothing to be

He totally defeats them in the battle of Worcester.

1651. be seen for some time but blood and slaughter.  
As soon as the lord-general had forced his way through *Sudbury-gate*, whilst this party were killing and slaying all they met with, he with some regiments ran up to the *Fort-royal*, commanded by colonel *Drummond*; and being just about to storm, he first ventur'd his person thro' whole showers of shot, to offer the *Scots* quarter, if they would presently submit, and deliver up the fort; which they refusing, he soon reduced it by force, and without mercy put them all to the fword, to the number of fifteen hundred men. In the mean time very considerable parties were sent after the flying enemy, and the country every where rose upon them. The slain in this battle were reckoned about four thousand, and the prisoners taken in the fight and in the pursuit amounted to about ten thousand; so that near all were lost. The chief of the prisoners were duke *Hamilton* (brother of the late duke) who died soon after of his wounds; the earl of *Derby*, who not long after was sentenc'd to death, and lost his head at *Bolton*; the earls of *Lauderdale*, *Carnwarth*, *Rothes*, and *Kelley*; the lord *Sinclare*, Sir *John Packington*, Sir *Charles Cunningham*, Sir *Ralph Clare*, major-general *Montgomery*, major-general *Piscoty*, Mr. *Richard Fanshaw* secretary to the king, the general of the ordnance, the adjutant-general of the foot; besides several colonels, and other inferior officers. There were also taken all their artillery and baggage, a hundred and fifty-eight colours, the king's standard, his coach and horses, and several other things of great value. The king escaped, and having wandred for some time in disguise about *England*, he at last found means to embark, and landed safely at *Diepe* in *France*. This great victory, which was justly look'd upon as the decision of the grand cause between the king and the common-wealth, was obtain'd by general *Cromwell* on the

1651.

the third of September, the same day twelve-month, that the Scots had such a defeat given them by his forces at *Dunbar*, as lost them their kingdom. *Cromwell's word was the same as at Dunbar, The Lord of hosts.* The next day the lord-general sent a letter to the parliament; which was as follows:

“ I AM not able yet to give you an exact account of the great things the Lord hath done for this commonwealth, and for his people; and yet I am unwilling to be silent, but according to my duty I shall represent it to you, as it comes to hand. This battle was fought with various success for some hours, but still hopeful on your part, and in the end became an absolute victory, and so full an one, as proved a total defeat and ruin of the enemy’s army, and possession of the town; our men entering at the enemy’s heels, and fighting with them in the streets with very great courage, took all their baggage and artillery. What the slain are, I can give you no account, because we have not taken an exact view; but they are very many, and must needs be so, because the dispute was long, and very near at hand, and often at push of pike, and from one defence to another. There are about six or seven thousand prisoners taken here, and many officers and noblemen of quality; duke *Hamilton*, the earl of *Rothes*, and divers other noblemen; I hear, the earl of *Lauderdale*, many officers of great quality, and some that will be fit objects of your justice. We have sent very considerable parties after the flying enemy: I hear they have taken considerable numbers of prisoners, and are very close in the pursuit. Indeed, I hear the country riseth upon them every where; and I believe, the forces that lay thro’ providence at *Bewdley*, and in *Shropshire* and *Staffordshire*, and those with colonel *Lilburne*, were in a condition, as if this had been foreseen, to intercept

His letter  
to the par-  
liament  
thereupon.

1651.

*The LIFE of*

“ what should return. A more particular account than this will be prepared for you, as we are able. “ I heard they had not many more than a thousand horse in their body that fled, and I believe we have near four thousand forces following and interposing between them and home. Their army was about sixteen thousand strong, and fought ours on *Worcester-fide Severn*, almost with their whole, whilst we had engaged half our army on the other side, but with parties of theirs. Indeed it was a stiff business; yet I do not think we have lost two hundred men. Your new-rais'd forces did perform singular good service, for which they deserve a very high estimation and acknowledgment, as also for their willingness thereunto, forasmuch as the same hath added so much to the reputation of your affairs. They are all dispatch'd home again; which, I hope, will be much for the ease and satisfaction of the country, which is a great fruit of the successes.”

“ THE dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts; it is, for, ought I know, a *crowning* mercy; surely, if it be not, such a one we shall have, if this provoke those that are concern'd in it to thankfulness, and the parliament to do the will of him, who hath done his will for it, and for the nation; whose good pleasure is, to establish the nation, and the change of the government, by making the people so willing to the defence thereof, and so signally to bless the endeavours of your servants in this late great work. I am bold, humbly to beg, that all thoughts may tend to the promoting of his honour, who hath wrought so great salvation, and that the fatness of these continued mercies may not occasion pride and wantonness, as formerly the like hath done to a chosen people. But that the fear of the Lord, even for his mercies, may keep an authority, and a people so prospered, and blessed, and witnessed

" witnessed to, humble and faithful ; that justice 1651.  
 " and righteousness, mercy and truth may flow  
 " from you, as a thankful return to our glorious  
 " God : This shall be the prayer of, Sir, your most  
 " humble and obedient servant, O. Cromwell."

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## C H A P. V.

*From the battle of Worcester, to the forcible dissolution of the Long Parliament.*

GENERAL Cromwell having given this deadly blow to the Scots, and to all the king's party, staid no longer at Worcester, than to see the walls of it levell'd with the ground, and the dikes fill'd with earth, thereby to curb the disaffection of the inhabitants, and to prevent their attempting to secure any enemy for the future. This done, he march'd up in a triumphant manner to London, driving four or five thousand prisoners like sheep before him. Beyond Aylesbury, he was met by four commissioners from the parliament, whom they sent to pay him all the marks of honour and esteem. When he came to Acton, he was solemnly met by the speaker, and the rest of the members and council of state ; and soon after by the lord mayor, aldermen and sheriffs, and many persons of quality, with the militia and multitudes of people ; who welcom'd him with loud shouts and acclamations, and several vollies of great and small shot. White-lock says, he carry'd himself with great affability, and seeming humility ; and in all his discourses about the business of Worcester, would seldom mention any thing of himself, but of the gallantry of the officers and soldiers, and gave all the glory of the action unto God. After some small repose, on the 16th of September, he took his place in parliament, where the speaker made a speech to him, congratulating his return after so many worthy achievements,

He returns in triumph to London.

1651. chievements, and giving him the thanks of the house for his great and faithful services to the common-wealth. On the same day, he with his chief officers, was feasted in the city, with all possible state and pomp : And soon after two acts were drawn up, that were much to his honour ; one for a solemn thanksgiving-day, and the other for a yearly observation of the third day of September, in all the three kingdoms, with a narrative of the grounds thereof. The parliament likewise settled four thousand pounds a year upon him, out of the estates of the duke of Buckingham, and the marques of Worcester, besides two thousand five hundred pounds per Annum, formerly granted.

The isles  
of Man,  
Jersey,  
Guernsey,  
and Scilly  
reduc'd.

SOON after the battle of Worcester, the isle of Man, bravely defended by the heroick countess of Derby, and the isle of Jersey, that had been long maintain'd by Sir George Carteret, were both reduc'd to the parliament's obedience. They had long since been masters of Guernsey, except the chief fort, call'd Cornet-castle, which had been a great while defended by Roger Burges, the governor, but was about the latter end of October surrendere'd by him upon very good articles. And the Scilly isles, which had been the chief harbour for the king's men of war, were some time before reduc'd by a part of the parliament's fleet.

Monk fi-  
nishes the  
reduction  
of Scot-  
land.

MAJOR-GENERAL Monk, whom the lord-general had left in Scotland, to perfect the reduction of that kingdom, proceeded in his work with very good success. Before the fight at Worcester, he took Sterling, the chief strength of the Scots ; as also Dundee, with as terrible an execution as Cromwell had before us'd at Tredagh ; and surpriz'd a convention of the Scotch nobility, among whom was old general Leslie, and sent them prisoners to London. The example that was made of Dundee, occasion'd such a terror, that St. Andrew's, Aberdeen, Dunbarton, and Dunnoter castles, with other towns,

towns, castles, and strong-holds, either voluntarily declar'd for the conquerors, or surrender'd upon summons. Notwithstanding this, the *Scots* made one attempt more under *Middleton, Huntley, Glen-carne*, and others in the *Highlands*: But they were soon suppress'd and dispers'd by colonel *Morgan*: So that the *English* extended their conquests thro' all parts of the kingdom, even as far as the isles of *Orkney* and *Shetland*, which now submitted to them.

AND here I shall dismiss the affa'rs of *Scotland* for the present, with the remarks that bishop *Burnet* makes on the state of that kingdom, after this absolute reduction of it under the power of the *English*.

" After this, says he, the country was  
 " kept in great order: Some castles in the high-  
 " lands had garrisons put into them, that were so  
 " careful in their discipline, and so exact to their  
 " rules, that in no time the highlands were kept in  
 " better order, than during the usurpation. There  
 " was a considerable force of about seven or eight  
 " thousand men kept in *Scotland*: These were paid  
 " exactly, and strictly disciplin'd. The pay of the  
 " army brought so much money into the king-  
 " dom, that it continued all that while in a very  
 " flourishing state. *Cromwell* built three citadels,  
 " at *Leith, Ayr, and Inverness*, besides many little  
 " forts. There was good justice done, and vice  
 " was suppress'd and punish'd; so that we always  
 " reckon those eight years of usurpation, a time  
 " of great peace and prosperity. There was also  
 " a sort of union of the three kingdoms in one  
 " parliament, where *Scotland* had its representa-  
 " tives. The marquess of *Argyle* went up one of  
 " our commissioners."

SOON after the victory at *Worcester*, general *Cromwell* desir'd a meeting with several members of parliament, and some of the principal officers of the army, at the speaker's house; where, as to consider *Whitelock*, who was one of the number, acquaints us,

1651. us, he propos'd to them, " That now the old king  
 being dead, and his son defeated, he held it ne-  
 cessary to come to a settlement of the nation ;  
 in order to which he had requested this meet-  
 ing, that they together might consider and ad-  
 vise, what was fit to be done, and to be pre-  
 sented to the parliament."

WHAT pass'd hereupon in this conference, I shall set down as I find it in *Whitelock*. *Lentball* the speaker began thus : " My lord, this com-  
 pany were very ready to attend your excellency ;  
 and the busines you are pleas'd to propound to  
 us, is very necessary to be consider'd. God hath  
 given marvellous success to our forces under  
 your command, and if we do not improve these  
 mercies to some settlement, such as may be to  
 God's honour, and the good of this common-  
 wealth, we shall be very much blame-worthy."

**HARRISON.** " I think that which my lord  
 general hath propounded, is to advise as to a  
 settlement both of our civil and spiritual liber-  
 ties, and so that the mercies which the Lord  
 hath given in to us, may not be cast away ; how  
 this may be done is the great question."

**WHITELOCK.** " It is a great question indeed,  
 and not suddenly to be resolv'd ; yet it were pity  
 that a meeting of so many able, worthy persons  
 as I see here, should be fruitless. I should hum-  
 bly offer in the first place, whether it be not re-  
 quisite to be understood, in what way this set-  
 tlement is desir'd, whether of an absolute repub-  
 blick, or with any mixture of monarchy."

**GENERAL Cromwell.** " My lord commissioner  
*Whitelock* hath put us upon the right point ; and  
 indeed it is my meaning, that we should con-  
 sider, whether a republick, or a mix'd monar-  
 chical government will be best to be settled ; and  
 if any thing monarchical, then in whom that  
 power shall be placed."

SIR Tho. Widdrington. "I think a mix'd monarchical government will be most suitable to the laws and people of this nation; and if any thing monarchical, I suppose we shall hold it most just to place that power in one of the sons of the late king."

FLEETWOOD. "I think that the question, Whether an absolute republick, or a mix'd monarchy, be best to be settled in this nation, will not be very easy to be determin'd."

LORD-CHIEF-JUSTICE St. John. "It will be found that the government of this nation, without something of monarchical power, will be very difficult to be so settled, as not to shake the foundation of our laws, and the liberties of the people."

LENTHALL. "It will breed a strange confusion to settle a government of this nation, without something of monarchy."

DESBOROUGH. "I beseech you, my lord, why may not this, as well as other nations, be govern'd in the way of a republick?"

WHITELOCK. "The laws of *England* are so interwoven with the power and practice of monarchy, that to settle a government without something of monarchy in it, would make so great an alteration in the proceedings of our law, that you have scarce time to rectify, nor can we well foresee the inconveniences which will arise thereby."

WHALLEY. "I do not well understand matters of law; but it seems to me the best way, not to have any thing of monarchical power in the settlement of our government: And if we should resolve upon any, whom have we to pitch upon? The king's eldest son hath been in arms against us, and his second son likewise is our enemy."

1651.

SIR Thomas Widdrington. "But the late king's third son, the duke of Gloucester, is still among us, and too young to have been in arms against us, or infected with the principles of our enemies."

WHITELOCK. "There may be a day given for the king's eldest son, or for the duke of York his brother, to come in to the parliament; and upon such terms as shall be thought fit, and agreeable both to our civil and spiritual liberties, a settlement may be made with them."

GENERAL Cromwell. "That will be a business of more than ordinary difficulty; but really, I think, if it may be done with safety, and preservation of our rights, both as *Englishmen*, and as christians, that a settlement with something of monarchical power in it would be very effectual."

MUCH more discourse there was by several gentlemen then present. The soldiers were generally for a pure republick, the lawyers for a mix'd monarchy, and many for the duke of Gloucester to be made king; but general Cromwell still put off that debate to some other point; and many think, that having now begun to entertain thoughts of setting up himself, his design in this conference, was only to discover the inclinations of these persons, that he might make a proper use thereof in prosecuting the ends of his own ambition, which was much heighten'd by the finishing stroke that was given to his successes, in the late glorious victory at Worcester.

1652.

THE commission of general Cromwell to be lord-lieutenant of Ireland being expir'd, the parliament did not think fit to renew that title and office, looking upon them to be more suitable to monarchy, than to a free commonwealth; but they pass'd a vote, "That the act of parliament constituting Oliver Cromwell, Esq; captain-general and commander in chief of the armies and forces rais'd by their

“ their authority within *England*, should extend to  
“ the forces in *Ireland*, as if *Ireland* had been par-  
“ ticularly named: And that the lord-general be  
“ requir’d to appoint such a person as he shall think  
“ fit, to command the forces in *Ireland*, and to  
“ commission him accordingly.” And so lieute-  
“ nant-general *Fleetwood* had the command in chief  
of the forces in *Ireland* given him, to hold under  
the lord-general *Cromwell*; and under his conduct,  
that kingdom was in a little time brought into per-  
fect subjection.

WHILST the commonwealth of *England* was thus every where victorious at home, a rupture happened between them and the elder republick the states of *Holland*; which occasioned such terrible sea-fights, that no preceding age since the creation had ever produced the like. Some time in the last year, the parliament sent over the chief justice *St. John* and Mr. *Strickland*, to treat of a coalition with the *Dutch*; but they apprehending that this conjunction might rob them of their trade, and be little less than making them a province to *England*, not only refused to consent to it, but rudely treated *St. John*; which was so much resented by his haughty spirit, that he made the report of this embassy little to the advantage of the *Dutch*. Upon this the parliament pass’d the *act of navigation*, which “ prohibited foreign ships from bringing “ any merchandizes into *England*, except such as “ should be of the growth and manufacture of that “ country, to which the said ships belonged.” By virtue of which law the *English* took occasion to search the *Dutch* vessels, and often to make prize of them. The states hereupon sent over four ambassadors for the restoring and preserving a good understanding between the two repubicks; but the parliament demanded the arrears for the *Dutch* fishing upon the coasts of *England* and *Scotland*, the giving up to justice those of the *Dutch* who survived,

that

A rupture  
between  
*England*  
and *Hol-*  
*land*.

1652.

that were assisting in the massacre of the *English* at Amboyna; and a free trade up the Scheld. The Dutch seeing how little they were to expect from the *English* by a treaty, began to prepare for a war; nor were the others behind-hand with them.

THE first act of hostility was in December last year, when an *English* man of war meeting with some Dutch fishermen on the British coast, demanded the tenth herring, in acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the seas, which the parliament was determined to maintain in another manner than had hitherto been done. The Dutch not complying, they fell from words to blows; and the Dutchman shooting first at the *English*, the *English* man of war sunk one of the Dutch ships, which perished with all her crew.

Several  
sea-fights  
between  
them.

THIS was but a skirmish; but the first great sea-fight between these potent republicks, was in May this year; when admiral Van Trump, according to the instructions he had received, refusing to strike sail to the *English*, Blake the *English* admiral gave orders to fire at Trump's flag; which being done thrice, Trump, instead of striking it, poured a broadside upon Blake. Hereupon both fleets engag'd from four in the afternoon till night; in which fight, the Dutch had one man of war taken, and another sunk, one hundred and fifty men kill'd, and their whole fleet much damag'd; whereas the *English* had not one ship lost or disabled, and but few of their men slain. The second sea-fight was on the 20th of August; when Sir George Ayscough, who was left by Blake to command in the Downs, with thirty-eight men of war, set upon the Dutch fleet of fifty, and fifteen merchant men. This fight having continued three days, the Dutch lost two ships, one sunk, and the other burnt, but the *English* none. On the 28th of October, admiral Blake, with vice-admiral Penn, and rear-admiral Bourne, again engag'd the Dutch fleet near the North-Fore-land,

land, boarded and took their rear-admiral, sunk 1652. two more of them, and one was blown up. The rest of the *Dutch* fleet being very much ihatte'd and forc'd to fly, was pursued twelve leagues by the *English*, who lost not one ship in this fight; tho' many of them were damag'd in their rigging. Another furious fight happen'd on the 29th of November, which continued from ten in the morning till six at night; when the *Dutch* fleet, double in number to the *English*, got the better of them, taking the *Garland* frigat, burning the *Bonadventure*, and sinking three more. One of the *Dutch* flagships was blown up, and all the men lost but two; and *Van Trump's* and *De Ruyter's* ships were much damag'd.

BUT to return home: About this time, the lord-general *Cromwell* meeting with commissioner *White-lock*, saluted him with more than ordinary courtesy, and desired to have some private discourse with him. *Whitelock* waited on him accordingly, and after some previous discourse, the lord-general proceeded thus: "Your lordship hath observed most truly the inclinations of the officers of the army to particular factions, and to murmurings, that they are not rewarded according to their deserts, that others who have ventured least, have gained most, and they have neither profit nor ferment, nor place in government, which others hold, who have undergone no hardships nor hazards for the commonwealth; and herein they have too much of truth; yet their insolence is very great, and their influence upon the private soldiers works them to the like discontents and murmurings. Then as for the members of parliament, the army begins to have a strange distaste against them, and I wish there were not too much cause of it; and really their pride, and ambition, and self-seeking, ingrossing all places of honour and profit to themselves and <sup>A remarkable conference between general Cromwell and White-lock.</sup> <sup>their</sup>

1652. " their friends, and their daily breaking forth into  
 new and violent parties and factious ; their de-  
 lays of business, and design to perpetuate them-  
 selves, and to continue their power in their own  
 hands ; their meddling in private matters be-  
 tween party and party, contrary to the institu-  
 tion of parliaments, and their injustice and par-  
 tiality in those matters, and the scandalous lives  
 of some of the chief of them ; these things, my  
 lord, do give too much ground for people to o-  
 pen their mouths against them, and to dislike  
 them. Nor can they be kept within the bounds  
 of justice, and law or reason, they themselves  
 being the supreme power of the nation, liable to  
 no account to any, nor to be controuled or re-  
 gulated by any other power, there being none  
 superior, or co-ordinate with them. So that un-  
 less there be some authority and power so full  
 and so high, as to restrain and keep things in  
 better order, and that may be a check to these  
 exorbitancies, it will be impossible in human rea-  
 son to prevent our ruin."

*WHITELOCK* answered : " I confess the dan-  
 ger we are in by these extravagancies and inor-  
 dinate powers, is more than I doubt is generally  
 apprehended ; yet as to that part of it which con-  
 cerns the soldiery, your excellency's power and  
 commission is sufficient already to restrain and  
 keep them in their due obedience : And, blessed  
 be God, you have done it hitherto, and I doubt  
 not but by your wisdom you will be able still to  
 do it. As to the members of parliament, I con-  
 fess the greatest difficulty lies there, your com-  
 mission being from them, and they being acknow-  
 ledged the supreme power of the nation, subject  
 to no controuls, nor allowing any appeal from  
 them. Yet, I am sure, your excellency will not  
 look upon them as generally deprav'd ; too  
 many of them are much to blame in those things  
 " you

" you have mentioned, and many unfit things have 1652.  
" pass'd among them ; but I hope well of the ma-  
" jor part of them, when great matters come to a  
" decision."

THE lord-general reply'd, " There is little hopes  
" of a good settlement to be made by them, really  
" there is not ; but a great deal of fear, that they  
" will destroy again what the Lord hath done gra-  
" ciously for them and us : We all forget God,  
" and God will forget us, and give us up to con-  
" fusion, and these men will help it on, if they be  
" suffered to proceed in their ways : Some course  
" must be thought on to curb and restrain them,  
" or we shall be ruined by them." Upon this  
Whitelock said, " We ourselves have acknowledged  
" them the supreme power, and taken our com-  
" missions and authority in the highest concern-  
" ments from them ; and how to restrain and curb  
" them after this, it will be hard to find out a way  
" for it."

THE general then put this short question to *Whitelock*, *What if a man should take upon him to be king?* Whitelock said, *He thought that remedy would be worse than the disease*: And the general asking him, *Why he thought so*, he proceeded, " As to your  
" own person, the title of king would be of no ad-  
" vantage, because you have the full kingly power  
" in you already, concerning the *militia*, as you  
" are general : As to the nomination of civil offi-  
" cers, those whom you think fittest are seldom  
" refus'd ; and altho' you have no negative vote  
" in the passing of laws, yet what you dislike will  
" not easily be carried ; and the taxes are already  
" settled, and in your power to dispose the money  
" raised. And as to foreign affairs, tho' the cere-  
" monial application be made to the parliament,  
" yet the expectation of good or bad success in it,  
" is from your excellency ; and particular sollici-  
" tations of foreign ministers are made to you  
" only.

1652. " only. So that I apprehend indeed less envy and  
 danger, and pomp, but not less power and real  
 opportunities of doing good in your being ge-  
 neral, than would be if you had assumed the title  
 of king."

THE lord-general proceeded to argue, *That who-*  
*ever was actually king by election, the acts done by*  
*him were as lawful and justifiable, as if done by a*  
*king, who had the crown by inheritance;* and that by  
*an act of parliament in king Henry the seventh's reign,*  
*it was safer for the people to act under a king, let his ti-*  
*tle be what it will, than under any other power.* White-  
lock agreed to the legality, but much doubted the  
expediency of it; and being ask'd, *What danger*  
*be apprehended in taking this title,* he answer'd,  
" The danger I think would be this: One of the  
main points of controversy betwixt us and our  
adversaries, is, *Whether the government of this*  
*nation shall be established in monarchy, or in a free*  
*state or commonwealth?* And most of our friends  
have engaged with us, upon the hopes of having  
the government settled in a free state, and to ef-  
fect that, have undergone all their hazards and dif-  
ficulties; they being persuaded (tho' I think  
much mistaken) that under the government of a  
commonwealth, they shall enjoy more liberty  
and right, both as to their spiritual and civil  
concernments, than they shall under monarchy,  
the pressures and dislike whereof are so fresh in  
their memories and sufferings. Now if your ex-  
cellency shall take upon you the title of king,  
this state of your cause will be thereby wholly de-  
termined, and monarchy establish'd in your per-  
son; and the question will be no more, whether  
our government shall be by a monarch or by a  
free state, but, whether Cromwell or Stuart shall  
be our king and monarch. And that question,  
wherein before so great parties of the nation were  
engag'd, and which was universal, will by this  
means

" means become in effect a private controversy  
" only; before it was national, what kind of go-  
" vernment we should have; now it will become  
" particular, who shall be our governour, whether  
" of the family of the *Stuarts*, or of the family of  
" the *Cromwells*. Thus the state of our contro-  
" versy being totally changed, all those who were  
" for a commonwealth (and they are a very great  
" and considerable party) having their hopes there-  
" in frustrated, will desert you, your hands will  
" be weakened, your interest streightened, and your  
" cause in apparent danger to be ruined."

1652.

THE general here acknowledg'd that *Whitelock* spoke reason, and ask'd him, *What other thing he could propound, that might obviate the present dangers and difficulties, wherein they were all involv'd.* *Whitelock* confess'd, it would be the greatest difficulty to find out such an expedient, but said, he had had some things in his private thoughts upon this matter, which he fear'd were not fit, or safe for him to communicate: But upon the general's pressing him to disclose them, and promising there should no prejudice come to him by any private discourse betwixt them, and assuring him, he should never betray his friend, and that he should take kindly whatever he should offer; *Whitelock* began thus:

" Give me leave then first to consider your excellency's condition. You are invironed with secret enemies: Upon your subduing of the publick enemy, the officers of your army account themselves all victors, and to have had an equal share in the conquest with you. The success which God hath given us, hath not a little elated their minds, and many of them are busy, and of turbulent spirits, and are not without their designs how they may dismount your excellency, and some of themselves get up into the saddle; how they may bring you down, and set up themselves. They want not counsel and encouragement

1652. " couragement herein, it may be, from some members of the parliament, who may be jealous of your power and greatness, lest you should grow too high for them, and in time over-master them; and they will plot to bring you down first, or to clip your wings."

THE general upon this thanked *Whitelock* for so fully considering his condition: *It is*, said he, *a testimony of your love to me and care of me, and you have rightly consider'd it; and I may say without vanity, that in my condition yours is involved and all our friends, and those that plot my ruin will hardly bear your continuance in any condition worthy of you.* Besides this, *the cause itself may possibly receive some disadvantage, by the strugglings and contentions among ourselves.* But what, *Sir, are your thoughts for prevention of those mischiefs that hang over our bands?*

*WHITELOCK* then proceeded: " Pardon me, *Sir, in the next place a little to consider the condition of the king of Scots.* This prince being now by your valour, and the success which God hath given to the parliament, and to the army under your command, reduc'd to a very low condition, both he, and all about him, cannot but be very inclinable to hearken to any terms, whereby their lost hopes may be reviv'd of his being restor'd to the crown, and they to their fortunes and native country. By a private treaty with him you may secure yourself, and your friends, and their fortunes; you may make yourself and your posterity as great and permanent, to all human probability, as ever any subject was, and provide for your friends: You may put such limits to monarchical power, as will secure our spiritual and civil liberties, and you may secure the cause in which we are all engaged; and this may be effectually done, by having the power of the *militia* continued in yourself, and whom you shall agree upon after you. I pro-

" pound

" pound therefore for your excellency to send to 1652.  
 " the king of Scots, and to have a private treaty ~~with him~~  
 " with him for this purpose."

THE general hereupon told him, he thought he had much reason for what he propounded ; But, said he, *it is a matter of so high importance and difficulty, that it deserves more time of consideration and debate, than is at present allow'd us : We shall therefore take a farther time to discourse of it.* And with that he brake off, and went away with some displeasure in his countenance. His carriage also towards *Whitelock* was from that time alter'd, and his advising with him not so frequent and intimate as formerly ; and not long after, he found an occasion, by an honourable employment, to send him out of the way, that he might be no hindrance to him in the designs he was then carrying on. For 'tis pretty manifest, that he had it now in his thoughts to set up himself, and bring the crown upon his own head : To which purpose *Harry Nevill* who was then one of the council of state, us'd to tell it as a story of his own knowledge,

" That *Cromwell* upon this great occasion sent for *Harry Nevill's story* some of the chief city divines, as if he made it concerning him.

" a matter of conscience to be determin'd by their advice. Among these was the leading Mr. *Calamy*, who very boldly opposed the project of *Cromwell's single government*, and offer'd to prove it both *unlawful* and *impracticable*. *Cromwell* answer'd readily upon the first head of *unlawful*, and appeal'd to the safety of the nation being the supreme law : But, says he, pray Mr. *Calamy*, why *impracticable*? *Calamy* reply'd, Ob, 'tis against the voice of the nation, there will be nine in ten against you. Very well, says *Cromwell*, but what if I should disarm the nine, and put the sword in the tenth man's hand, would not that do the business?"

1652. GENERAL Cromwell and his officers, in order  
to bring about their designs, were now daily com-  
plaining of the grievances from the long parliament,  
and seem'd very zealous upon the common pre-  
tences of right and justice, and publick liberty, to  
put a period to their session ; " Which if they  
" would not shortly do themselves, the army and  
" people must do it for them." They particularly  
complain'd, " That the parliament order'd all  
" things at will, and distributed all valuable em-  
" ployments among themselves ; that they were so  
" many kings, and for one sovereign, the nation  
" had many, who car'd less for the laws than he  
" they had destroy'd ; that they embru'd the king-  
" dom in blood, upon pretence of punishing the  
" adversaries of the government, but in reality to  
" gratify their own private revenge ; that they  
" had study'd to perpetuate themselves in an em-  
" ployment which ought to be temporary, so that  
" all the good subjects of the commonwealth might  
" share in it ; that the parliament ought to be dis-  
" solved, and a new representative chosen by the  
" universal consent of the people, according to the  
" scheme laid when monarchy was abolish'd to set  
" up a commonwealth." And that no obstacle might  
be in the way of the design'd future government,  
means were found to set the young duke of Gloucester at liberty, and send him out of the nation.

He writes  
to the  
Cardinal  
de Retz.

'TWAS about this time that Cromwell sent a letter to the *Cardinal de Retz* in France ; which the said Cardinal thus relates in his *Memoires* : " 'Tis remarkable that the same night, as I was going home (*viz.* after he had been to carry some money he had borrow'd for king *Charles*, who was now at *Paris*) I met one *Filney*, an *Englishman*, whom I had formerly known at *Rome*, who told me that *Vere*, a great parliamentarian and a favourite of *Cromwell*, was arriv'd at *Paris*, and had orders to see me. I was a little perplex'd ; however,

" however, I thought it would be improper to refuse him an interview. He gave me a letter from *Cromwell* in the nature of credentials, importing, that the sentiments I had discover'd in the defence of publick liberty, added to my reputation, and had induc'd him to enter into the strictest friendship with me. It was a most civil complaisant letter, and I answer'd it with a great deal of respect; but in such a manner as became a true *Catholick* and an honest *Frenchman*."

ON the 18<sup>th</sup> of February, there happen'd another dreadful fight, between the *English* fleet commanded by *Blake*, *Dean*, and *Monk*, and the *Dutch* under *Van Trump*. This fight lasted three days with wonderful bravery, and terrible slaughter on both sides, tho' the *English* prevail'd; for the *Dutch* lost eleven men of war, and thirty merchant-ships; above two thousand of their men being kill'd, and fifteen hundred taken prisoners: But the *English* lost but one ship, the *Southampton*, which was sunk; tho' their slain were not many less than those of the enemy.

THIS great loss so sensibly affected the states of *Holland* and *West-Friezland*, that they dispatch'd letters to the *English* parliament, to endeavour after some means for putting an end to this cruel war. This negotiation had no effect, tho' it was particularly promoted by general *Cromwell* himself, who was very desirous to have a peace concluded. The states had offer'd to acknowledge the *English* sovereignty of the *British* seas, and to pay three hundred thousand pounds to the *English* commonwealth; but finding this was not likely to succeed, they apply'd themselves (as we are told) more directly to general *Cromwell*, promising him vast sums, if he would venture to depose and dissolve the parliament.

HOWEVER this was, the general and his officers still continu'd their complaints against the parliament; and petitions, addresses, and remonstrances

1652.

Another

sea-fight

between

the Enga-

lish and

*Dutch*.

The Dutch

desire

peace.

1653.

were

1653. were daily presented from the army, " For the payment of their arrears, the putting an end to this parliament, and summoning a more equal representative; which they told them would be the most popular action they could perform." Some of the officers were indeed very much concern'd at these proceedings, and openly protested against them. Major Streater was so bold as to declare, " That the general intended to set up himself, and that it was a betraying of their most glorious cause, for which so much blood had been spilt." But *Harrison*, who was one of the leaders of that party, now known by the name of *Fifth-monarchy men*, told him, *He was assur'd, the general did not seek himself in it, but did it to make way for the rule of Jesus, that he might have the Scepter.* To whom the major thus reply'd, *That unless Jesus came very suddenly, he would come too late.*

The proceedings  
of the  
house on  
this occa-  
sion.

THE parliament being very sensible of these proceedings, a great debate arose thereupon in the house; where several of the members, out of justice, reason, or a foreseen necessity, appear'd to be for a dissolution, and a new representative to be chosen; but in the end it was declar'd, that the dissolution of the parliament, was too high a matter for any private persons to meddle with; and to give a timely check to any farther presumption of that nature, a committee was appointed to prepare an act of parliament with all possible expedition, " For filling up of their house, and for settling their qualifications; and to declare it high treason for any man to propose or contrive the changing of the present government."

General  
*Cromwell*  
holds a-  
consulta-  
tion there-  
upon.

GENERAL *Cromwell* perceiving how unwilling they were to part with their power and authority, which they had so long enjoy'd, on the 19th of April, held a consultation with the chief of his friends in the parliament and army, at his lodgings in *Whitehall*; to consider of some expedient for the present

present carrying on of the government of the commonwealth, and putting a period to the parliament. Some few, particularly Sir Thomas Widdrington and commissioner Whitelock, declar'd what a dangerous thing it was to dissolve the parliament, and how difficult it would be to erect any other form of government: But the general, and most of his officers, with several members of the house, deliver'd their opinion, *That it was necessary to take some new measures, and that it was not fit the present assembly of parliament should be permitted to prolong their own power.* The conference lasted till late at night, when, without coming to any conclusion, the meeting was adjourn'd to the next morning. Most of them being then again met, the point in debate was, "Whether forty persons, or about that number, "of parliament men and officers of the army, "should be nominated by the parliament, and im- "power'd for managing the affairs of the common- "wealth, till a new parliament should meet, and "so the present parliament be forthwith dissolv'd." The lord-general being inform'd, during this debate, that the parliament was sitting, and that it was hoped they would put a period to themselves, which would be the most honourable dissolution for them; he thereupon broke off the meeting, and the members of parliament that were with him, left him at his lodgings, and went to the house; where, contrary to their expectation, instead of coming to any resolutions of immediately dissolving themselves, they found them in debate of an act, by which the present parliament was to be continu'd above a year and a half longer, and then to be dissolv'd.

COLONEL Ingoldsby came back to the general, and inform'd him what the house was upon: At which the general, who expected they should have meddled with no other business, but putting an immediate period to their own sitting without any force dis- solves the parliament and the Com-

1653. more delay, was so enrag'd, that he immediately commanded some of the officers to fetch a party of soldiers (to the number of three hundred) with which marching directly to Westminster, he placed some of them at the door, some in the Lobby, and others on the stairs. Himself going into the house, first address'd himself to his friend St. John, and told him, *That he then came to do that which griev'd him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly with tears pray'd to God against*: Nay, *that he had rather be torn in pieces than do it*: But *that there was a necessity laid upon him therein, in order to the glory of God, and the good of the nation*. Then he sat down and heard their debates for some time on the foremention'd act; after which, calling to major-general *Harrison*, who was on the other side of the house, to come to him, he told him, *That he judg'd the parliament ripe for a dissolution, and this to be the time of doing it*. *Harrison* answer'd, *Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I desire you seriously to consider of it, before you engage in it*. You say well, reply'd the general; and thereupon sat still for about a quarter of an hour; and then the question for passing the said act being put, he said again to *Harrison*, *This is the time, I must do it*. And so standing up on a sudden, he bad the speaker leave the chair, and told the house, *That they had sat long enough, unless they had done more good; that some of them were whore-masters, (looking then towards Harry Martin and Sir Peter Wentworth;) that others of them were drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust men, and scandalous to the profession of the gospel; and that it was not fit they should sit as a parliament any longer, and therefore he must desire them to go away*. He charg'd them with not having a heart to do any thing for the publick good, and espousing the interest of presbytery and the lawyers, who were the supporters of tyranny and oppression; and accused them of an intention to perpetuate

perpetuate themselves in power. When some of the members began to speak, he stepped into the midst of the house, and said, *Come, come, I will put an end to your prating*: Then walking up and down the house, he cry'd out, *You are no parliament, I say you are no parliament*; and stamping with his feet, he bid them for shame be gone, and give place to honest men. Upon this signal the soldiers enter'd the house, and he bid one of them, *Take away that bauble*, meaning the mace; and *Harrison* taking the speaker by the arm, he came down. Then (as *Ludlow* informs us) the general addressing himself again to the members, who were about a hundred, said, *'Tis you that have forced me to this, for I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me, than put me upon the doing of this work*. And then seizing on all their papers, he order'd the soldiers to see the house clear'd of all members; and having caus'd the doors to be lock'd up, went away to *Whitehall*. “ Thus, as *Whitelock* observes, it pleased God, that this assembly, famous throughout the world for its undertakings, actions and successes, having subdu'd all their enemies, were themselves overthrown and ruin'd by their servants; and those whom they had rais'd, now pull'd down their masters: An example never to be forgotten, and scarce to be parallel'd in any story! By which all persons may be instructed, how uncertain and subject to change all worldly affairs are; how apt to fall when we think them highest.”

THE general being return'd to *Whitehall*, found the officers who were there assembled, in debate concerning this weighty affair, and told them, *He had done it, and they needed not to trouble themselves any farther about it*. Some of those officers, who dislik'd what the general had done, particularly *colonel Okey*, repair'd to him to desire satisfaction in that proceeding, apprehending the way they

1653.

were now in, tended to ruin and destruction. To these he made large pretensions to honesty and concern for the publick weal, professing himself resolv'd to do much more good, and with more expedition than could be expected from the parliament. This put most of them to silence, and made them willing to wait for a farther discovery of his design, before they proceeded so far as to break with him.

HAVING thus dissolv'd the parliament, general Cromwell went the same day in the afternoon to the council of state, attended by the major-generals Lambert and Harrison ; and as he enter'd, spoke thus to them, *Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons, you shall not be disturbed ; but if as a council of state, this is no place for you : And since you cannot but know what was done at the house in the morning, so take notice that the parliament is dissolv'd.* Serjeant Bradshaw boldly answer'd ; *Sir, we have heard what you did at the house in the morning, and before many hours all England will bear it : But, Sir, you are mistaken, to think that the parliament is dissolv'd ; for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves : Therefore take you notice of that.* Some others also spoke to the same purpose : But the council finding themselves to be under the same force, they all quietly departed.



THE  
L I F E  
O F  
OLIVER CROMWELL.

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P A R T III.

*Containing his actions in the Protectorate; from the dissolution of the Long Parliament, to his Death.*

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C H A P. I.

*From the dissolution of the long parliament, to the meeting of Cromwell's first parliament.*

1653. The general consults how to carry on the government. fallen

**T**HE formidable body at Westminster being thus forcibly dissolved, the lord-general and his party were very busy in consulting how to manage the government, which by this means was fallen into their hands. This single action made *Cromwell* master of three kingdoms; for tho' he did not take upon himself the title of *Protector*, till several months after, yet his power was in effect the same, from the very moment that he succeeded in this bold undertaking: Soon after which, he sent for major *Salloway* and Mr. *John Carew*, and complain'd to them of the great weight of affairs that by this means was

1653. fallen upon him ; affirming, that the thoughts of the consequence thereof made him to tremble ; and therefore desir'd them to free him from the temptations that might be laid before him, and to that end to go immediately to the chief justice St. John, and Mr. Selden, and some others, and endeavour to persuade them to draw up some instrument of government, that might put the power out of his bands. To this major Salloway answer'd, *The way, Sir, to free you from this temptation, is for you not to look upon your self to be under it, but to rest persuaded, that the power of this nation is in the good people of England, as formerly it was.* This answer was thought to be not very agreeable to the general, who now appointed a meeting of the chief officers of the army to be at Whitehall, in order to deliberate what was proper to be done in this exigency ; and with their advice, he, in the first place, publish'd a declaration of the grounds and reasons for their dissolving the late parliament ; which was to the following effect :

He and  
his coun-  
cil of offi-  
cers pub-  
lish a de-  
claration.

“ THAT after God was pleas'd marvellously to appear for his people, in reducing of Ireland and Scotland to so great a degree of peace, and England to perfect quiet ; whereby the parliament had opportunity to give the people the harvest of all their labour, blood, and treasure, and to settle a due liberty in reference to civil and spiritual things ; whereunto they were oblig'd by their duty, engagements, and those great and wonderful things God hath wrought for them ; they notwithstanding made so little progress therein, that it was matter of much grief to the good people of the land ; who thereupon apply'd themselves to the army, expecting redress by their means ; who (tho' unwilling to meddle with the civil authority) agreed that such officers, as were members of parliament, should move them to proceed vigorously in reforming what was amiss in the common-wealth, and

“ and in settling it upon a foundation of justice 1653.  
“ and righteousness ; which being done, it was  
“ hop’d the parliament would have answer’d their  
“ expectations. But finding the contrary, they  
“ renew’d their desires by an humble petition in  
“ August, 1652, which produc’d no considerable  
“ effect, nor was any such progress made therein,  
“ as might imply their real intentions to accom-  
“ plish what was petition’d for, but rather an  
“ averseness to the things themselves, with much  
“ bitterness and opposition to the people of God,  
“ and his Spirit acting in them ; insomuch that the  
“ godly party in parliament were render’d of no  
“ farther use than to countenance the ends of a  
“ corrupt party, for effecting their designs of per-  
“ petuating themselves in the supreme government.  
“ For obviating these evils, the officers of the ar-  
“ my obtain’d several meetings with some of the  
“ parliament, to consider what remedy might be  
“ apply’d to prevent the same : But such endea-  
“ vours proving ineffectual, it became evident,  
“ that this parliament, through the corruption of  
“ some, the jealousy of others, and the non-attend-  
“ ance of many, would never answer those ends,  
“ which God, his people, and the whole nation  
“ expected from them ; but that this cause, which  
“ God had so greatly bless’d, must needs languish  
“ under their hands, and by degrees be lost ; and  
“ the lives, liberties, and comforts of his people  
“ be deliver’d into their enemies hands. All which  
“ being sadly and seriously consider’d by the honest  
“ people of the nation, as well as by the army, it  
“ seem’d a duty incumbent upon us, who had seen  
“ so much of the power and presence of God, to  
“ consider of some effectual means, whereby to esta-  
“ blish righteousness and peace in these nations.  
“ And after much debate, it was judg’d necessary,  
“ that the supreme government should be by the  
“ parliament devolv’d upon known persons fearing  
“ God,

1653. " God, and of approv'd integrity, for a time, as  
the most hopeful way to countenance all God's  
people, reform the law, and administer justice  
impartially ; hoping thereby the people might  
forget monarchy, and understand their true in-  
terest in the election of successive parliaments ;  
that so the government might be settled upon a  
right basis, without hazard to this glorious cause,  
or necessitating to keep up armies for the de-  
fence of the same. And being still resolv'd to  
use all means possible to avoid extraordinary  
courses, we prevail'd with about twenty members  
of parliament to give us a conference ; with  
whom we plainly debated the necessity and jus-  
tice of our proposals ; the which found no ac-  
ceptance, but instead thereof, it was offer'd,  
That the way was, to continue still this parlia-  
ment, as being that from which we might pro-  
bably expect all good things. This being vehe-  
mently insisted on did much confirm us in our  
apprehensions, that not any love to a represen-  
tative, but the making use thereof to recruit, and  
so to perpetuate themselves, was their aim in the  
act they had then under consideration. For pre-  
venting the consummating whereof, and all the  
sad and evil consequences, which, upon the  
grounds aforesaid, must have ensu'd, and where-  
by at one blow the interest of all honest men,  
and of this glorious cause, had been endanger'd  
to be laid in the dust, and these nations em-  
broil'd in new troubles, at a time when our ene-  
mies abroad were watching all advantages a-  
gainst, and some of them actually engag'd in war  
with us ; we have been necessitated (tho' with  
much reluctance) to put an end to this parlia-  
ment." Then they promis'd, to put the go-  
vernment into the hands of *persons of approv'd fi-*  
*deliety and honesty* ; and at last declar'd, " That all  
magistrates and officers whatsoever shall proceed

" in

" in their respective places and offices, and obedience shall be paid to them as fully, as when the parliament was sitting." 1653.

THIS declaration was subscrib'd by the lord-general, and his council of officers, *Whitehall, April 22d, 1653.* Which council of officers and some others, were soon after form'd into a council of state, which was compos'd of the thirty persons following ; *Cromwell, Fleetwood, Lambert, Lisle, Harrison, Desborough, Pickering, Wollesly, Ashley-Cooper, Hope, Hewson, Norton, Montague, Bennet, Stapeley, Sydenham, Tomlinson, Jones, Tichburn, Strickland, Carew, Howard, Broughton, Lawrence, Holister, Courtney, Major, St. Nicholas, Moyer, and Williams.*

THE dissolution of the parliament was very grateful and acceptable to a great many people ; The enter-tainment it met with. and this declaration, being sent out into all the dominions of the common-wealth, was answer'd by many congratulations and addresses from the fleet, and army, and people, promising to stand by the general and his council of officers, and acknowledging the justice of the late action. (And this, by the way, gave rise to the practice of addressing, which beginning first under *Oliver* and his son *Richard*, has been so common in all the reigns since.) The said declaration was on the 30th day of *April* seconded by this ensuing, which met with equal submission and obedience.

" WHEREAS the parliament being dissolv'd, Another persons of approv'd fidelity and honesty are (according to the late declaration of the 22d of April last) to be called from the several parts of this common-wealth to the supreme authority ; and although effectual proceedings are, and have been had, for perfecting those resolutions ; yet some convenient time being requir'd for the assembling of those persons, it hath been found necessary, for preventing the mischiefs

1653.

" chiefs and inconveniences which may arise in  
 " the mean while to the publick affairs, that a  
 " council of state be constituted, to take care of,  
 " and intend the peace, safety, and present ma-  
 " nagement of the affairs of this common-wealth ;  
 " which being settled accordingly, the same is  
 " hereby declar'd and published, to the end all  
 " persons may take notice thereof, and in their  
 " several places and stations, demean themselves  
 " peaceably, giving obedience to the laws of the  
 " nation as heretofore ; in the exercise and admi-  
 " nistration whereof, as endeavours shall be used  
 " that no oppression or wrong be done to the  
 " people, so a strict account will be required of  
 " all such as shall do any thing to endanger the  
 " publick peace and quiet, upon any pretence  
 " whatsoever." Subscribed O. Cromwell.

THE lord-general *Cromwell* having now in effect the supreme power in his hands, the first remarkable passage, that befel him, was at sea. The *Dutch* had form'd mighty expectations from the late revolutions in *England*, believing, the *English* would by this means be brought to fall together by the ears, and so their work would be very easy with them. With these hopes, notwithstanding their late pretences to peace, they with all imaginable diligence, set out a greater fleet to sea, than they had done before ; and *Van Trump* boasted he would fire the *English* ships in their harbours, and the *Downs*, before the *English* fleet could get out. But the new government, well knowing what credit was to be given to the *Dutch* protestations, *of their sincere love and affection to the English nation, &c.* were not behind-hand with them, but did every thing that might advance the maritime preparations ; so that in *May* they sent out another gallant fleet consisting of a hundred ships of all sorts, under the command of *Monk* and *Dean* as admirals, *Pen* as vice-admiral,

admiral, and *Lawson* as rear-admiral. On the second of June, early in the morning, they engag'd the Dutch fleet under *Van Trump*, *De Ruyter*, *De Wit*, and the two *Evertsons*, consisting of a hundred and four men of war, twelve galliots, sea, and nine fireships. This fight happen'd not far from the coast of *Flanders*, the beginning of which was so fatal, that at the first broad-side of the enemy, admiral *Dean* was shot off almost in the middle by a cannon ball. The fight continu'd till three in the afternoon, when the wind coming up contrary to the *English*, the Dutch fled, and were pursu'd by the lightest of the *English* frigates. The next morning, the two fleets found themselves again near each other, but the wind was so slack, that *Monk* could not come to engage the enemy till about noon ; and then the battle began again, and continu'd very hot on both sides, till ten at night. The *English* fleet charg'd the Dutch with so much bravery and resolution, that they put them into very great disorder ; so that tho' *Van Trump* fired on them to rally them, he could not procure above twenty ships of his whole fleet to stand by him, the rest making all the sail they could away to the eastward : And the wind blowing a fresh gale from the westward, the *English* pursu'd them with such success, that they sunk six of their best ships, blew up two others, and took eleven, with thirteen hundred and fifty prisoners, among whom were six of their principal captains. Towards the end of this battle, admiral *Blake* came in with eighteen fresh ships ; and had not the Dutch shelter'd themselves between *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, where 'twas not safe for the *English* to expose their great ships, by reason of the sands, most of their fleet had in all probability been taken or destroy'd. The loss of the *English* was greatest in their admiral *Dean* : Besides him there was but one captain, and about a hundred and fifty common

1653.

Victory  
over the  
Dutch at

1653. mon sea-men kill'd : More were wounded, but they lost not one ship. Having put their prisoners on shoar, and left some of their ships to be refitt'd, they returned to the coast of *Holland*, where for some time they block'd up the *Dutch* in their own harbours, and ply'd to and again betwixt the *Texel* and the *Uly*, to hinder ships coming out from thence to join with that part of the *Dutch* fleet which was got into the *Wielings*, and to stop up their trade and fishing,

General  
Cromwell  
prepares  
for a new  
parlia-  
ment.

At home, general *Cromwell* and his council of officers were in the mean time very busy in preparing for a new kind of parliament. Major-general *Lambert* mov'd, that a few persons, not exceeding ten or twelve, might be intrusted with the supreme authority : Major-general *Harrison* was for a greater number, and inclin'd most to that of 70, as being the number of the *Jewish Sandbedrim*. But after some debate, it was resolved by the general and his council to summon select persons, to be nominated by themselves, out of every county ; who should be a representative of the whole nation : And the several persons having been agreed upon, letters from the general were thus directed to each of them.

His form  
of sum-  
mons to  
the per-  
sons no-  
minated  
for that  
purpose.

" FORASMUCH as upon the dissolution of the  
 " late parliament, it became necessary that the  
 " peace, safety, and good government of this  
 " common-wealth should be provided for ; and  
 " in order thereunto, divers persons fearing God,  
 " and of approv'd fidelity and honesty, are by  
 " myself, with the advice of my council of offi-  
 " cers, nominated, to whom the great charge and  
 " trust of so weighty affairs is to be committed ;  
 " and having good assurance of your love to, and  
 " courage for God, and the interest of this cause,  
 " and of the good people of this common-wealth:  
 " I Oliver Cromwell, captain-general and com-  
 " mander in chief of all the armies and forces  
 " raised

" raised and to be raised within this common-  
" wealth, do hereby summon and require you,  
" being one of the persons nominated, personally  
" to appear at the council-chamber at *Whitehall*  
" within the city of *Westminster*, upon the fourth  
" day of *July*, next ensuing the date hereof, then  
" and there to take upon you the said trust, unto  
" which you are hereby call'd, and appointed to  
" serve as a member of the county of —— And  
" hereof you are not to fail. Given under my  
" hand this eighth day of *June*, 1653. *O. Crom-  
well.*"

1653.

BEFORE the meeting of this convention, seve- Several other acts of authority were perform'd by the general. On the 14th of *June*, he and the coun- cil of state put forth a declaration, " To invite all the good people in these nations to thank- fulness, and holy rejoicing in the Lord, for the late great victory at sea against the *Dutch*." And he appointed a day for the meeting of himself and his council of officers for that purpose. Many people were the more pleas'd with this, because it was not a command imposed on them, but only an invitation to keep a day of publick thanksgiving. On the 22d, that there might be no interruption to the administration of justice, the general with the council of state nominated the judges for the summer circuit. And a few days after, they passed an order, forbidding all riotous assemblies in the great level of the fens, and the throwing down of fences and inclosures there.

## C H A P. II.

*From the meeting of his FIRST PARLIAMENT, to his being declared PROTECTOR by the Instrument of Government.*

1653.  
Cromwell's  
first par-  
liament.

His  
speech to  
them.

THE several persons summon'd by general Cromwell to take upon them the supreme authority, appeared on the appointed day, July 4, about eleven weeks after the dissolution of the late parliament, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, to the number of about a hundred and twenty. Being set round the table, the general, attended by many of his officers, standing about the middle of the table, made a speech to them, " Of " the fear of God, and the honour due to his " name ; remembering them of the wonderful " mercies of God to this nation, and the con- " tinued series of providence, by which he had " appeared in carrying on his cause, and bring- " ing affairs into that present glorious condition, " wherein they now were. Then he reminded " them of the noble actions of the army in the fa- " mous battle of Worcester, and of the applica- " tions they had made to the parliament for a " good settlement of all the affairs of the com- " mon-wealth, the neglect whereof made it abso- " lutely necessary to dispossess it. Hence he shew'd " them the cause of their summons, and assured " them by many arguments, some of which were " taken from scripture, *That they had a clear call* " *to take upon them the supreme authority of the* " *common-wealth.* He said, that he never look'd " to see such a day, when Jesus Christ should be " so owned, as this day was ; and that he had " not allow'd himself in the choice of one person, " in whom he had not this good hope, *That* there,

"there was faith in Jesus Christ, and love unto all his saints and people." And concluded with a very earnest desire, "That great tendernes might be used towards all conscientious persons, of what judgment soever they appear'd to be."

His speech being ended, he delivered to them an instrument engross'd in parchment under his hand and seal, whereby, with the advice of his council of officers, he did devolve and intrust the supreme authority and government of this common-wealth into the hands of the persons then met; and declared, "That they, or any forty of them, were to be held and acknowledg'd the supreme authority of the nation, unto whom all persons within the same were to yield obedience and subjection; that they should not sit longer than the third of November, 1654, and three months before their dissolution, should make choice of other persons to succeed them; who were not to sit longer than a year, and to provide for a like succession in the government."

THEN the general and his officers withdrew, and the persons thus commission'd adjourn'd themselves to the next day, to meet in the parliament house; where they kept a fast, and published a declaration, *To stir up the godly of the nation to seek God for a blessing upon their proceedings.* They chose Mr. Rouse, an old gentleman of Devonshire, and provost of Eton college, who had been a member of the long parliament, to be their speaker; resolved, that general Cromwell and his chief officers, Lambert, Harrison, Desborough, and Thollinson, should sit in the house as members; and at once voted themselves to be the parliament of the common-wealth of England, and that all addresses should be made to them under that title. Then they appointed several committees, 1. To consider matters touching the law. 2. Touching prisoners and prisons. 3. For inspection into treasuries, and easing

1653. easing publick charges. 4. For Ireland. 5. For  
 Scotland. 6. For the Army. 7. For petitions.  
 8. To consider what shall be offered about publick  
 debts, publick fraud and breaches of trust. 9. For  
 regulating commissions of the peace, and for making  
 provision for the poor. 10. For advance of trade.  
 11. For advancement of learning. And they re-  
 ferred it to a committee to consider of the laws  
 that hinder'd the progress of the gospel, that they  
 might be repeal'd. The chief laws made by this  
 assembly were these: One for punishing seditious  
 sea-men: Another for marrying by justices of the  
 peace and registering marriages, births, and burials:  
 A third concerning the plantation of *Ireland*,  
 settling the lands there upon the adventurers and  
 soldiers: A fourth for payment of some publick  
 debts.

*WHITELOCK* says, It was much wondered  
 by some, that these gentlemen, many of whom  
 were persons of fortune and knowledge, would  
 upon such a summons, and from such hands, take  
 upon them the supreme authority of this nation.  
 The lord *Clarendon* informs us, that there were  
 amongst them divers of the quality and degree of  
 gentlemen, who had estates, and such a proportion  
 of credit and reputation, as could consist with the  
 guilt they had contracted: But he says, that much  
 the major part of them consisted of inferior per-  
 sons, of no quality or name. *Ludlow* gives them  
 this character: " Many of the members of this  
 " assembly had manifested a good affection to the  
 " publick cause; (*he means* a common-wealth:) "  
 " But some among them were brought in as spies  
 " and trepanners; who, though they had always  
 " been of the contrary party, made the highest  
 " pretensions to honesty, and the service of the  
 " nation. This assembly therefore being com-  
 " pos'd for the most part of honest and well-  
 " meaning persons, who having good intentions,  
 " were

Acts  
 pas'd by  
 them.

" were less apt to suspect the evil designs of others, thought themselves in full possession of the power and authority of the nation, &c." And others speak thus of them : " This very parliament, which had indeed procured very beneficial orders in matters of lesser moment, in the greater concerns had not so good fortune. There was so much confusion in their counsels, such a contrariety in their opinions, such a dissonancy in their actings, and disparity in their aims and projections, as that this senate was more like a monster with many heads, than a well-ordered grand assembly or supreme council." One *Praise-God Barebones*, a *Leather-seller* in *Fleet-street*, was a very busy man in this assembly ; whence it had the name of *Barebones's parliament*. It was also called by some the *Little parliament* ; and from an order that none should be admitted into the service of the house, but such of whose *real godliness* they were first satisfy'd, it was call'd the *Godly parliament*.

UNDER this change of government, lieutenant-colonel *John Lilburn*, whose turbulent spirit in the time of the late parliament had procur'd his banishment, now finding their power at an end, came over into *England*, and very confidently address'd himself to general *Cromwell* for protection. But the general well knowing of what spirit *John* was, committed him to *Newgate*, and left him to the law : Whereby he underwent a strict trial, in which he discover'd his parts and subtlety by the variety of his pleas, and his invincible temper by the boldness of his replies ; and by the favour of the jury was at last acquitted. *Oliver* seem'd to be much offended with him, and very desirous to have him punished ; yet privately paid him a pension equivalent to a lieutenant-colonel's pay. This person was of so undaunted and ungovernable a temper, as can scarce be parallel'd in any nation.

1653. He was whipp'd and pillory'd in the time of the late king, and suffer'd three years imprisonment, till the times turn'd ; when coming into play again, he became a grand leveller, and violent opposer of all that was uppermost. He obtain'd the name of *Free-born John*, and had such an inveterate spirit of contradiction, that 'twas commonly said of him, *That if the world was emptied of all but himself, John would be against Lilburn, and Lilburn against John.* Cromwell kept him in prison for some time ; and he at last died a quaker.

The Dutch again sue for peace.

THE Dutch were so humbled by the late defeat, that they immediately took up a resolution for peace, and sent over to England a vessel with a white flag, and a messenger to prepare the way for two ambassadors to come over for that purpose. General Cromwell was not averse to a treaty, but would allow of no cessation till it was concluded. This being known in Holland, they could not bear to think of suffering so long the disadvantage of being besieg'd, and shut up in their ports ; but with all possible expedition prepar'd another fleet, that might be sufficient to remove the English from thence ; so that in less than two months after their defeat, they had a fleet of an hundred and twenty-five sail. From these wonderful preparations, they had so great confidence of success, that they sent admiral Van Trump out of the Wielings with ninety-five sail, before the rest were ready, which De Wit soon after brought up to him from the Texel.

They are again defeated by the English in a terrible sea-fight.

ON the 29th of July, the English scouts discover'd Van Trump's fleet ; of which they gave notice, that the whole fleet, which then lay about three leagues off to sea, might make up to engage them : But the wind being against them, kept them from any action, till about six in the evening ; when about thirty nimble frigates (the rest being still a-stern) began the encounter, which

con-

1653.

continu'd till they were parted by the night. The Dutch bore away towards the *Texel*, and being reinforc'd by the ships under *De Wit*, which were the prime of their navy, whereon they chiefly rely'd, *Van Trump* immediately endeavoured to put all in a fighting posture, designing to engage the next day ; when the wind being very high, the English fleet, for fear of falling upon the flats, stood out to sea. This made many of the Dutch suppose that the English were flying ; insomuch that one of the captains said to *Van Trump*, Sir, these dogs durst not stand one broadside from your excellency ; you may see them plainly running home ; and therefore, my lord, miss not the opportunity. But *Van Trump*, who had had sufficient experience of the English, and knew the meaning of their standing off, gave him this short answer, Do you look to your charge ; for if the English were but twenty sail, I am sure they would fight us. The next morning proving fair, both fleets prepared for the battle ; and about five a clock, the Dutch having the weathergage, began the fight somewhat at a distance ; but it was not long before both fleets were desperately engaged. The sea was never adorned with a more gallant fight in the beginning of the day, nor cover'd with a more dismal one in the latter end ; and no fight was ever carry'd on with more bloody obstinacy and rage, than this was for several hours together. In the midst of this terrible encounter, admiral *Van Trump*, the glory of the Dutch nation, as he stood upon his quarter-deck with his sword drawn, bravely encouraging his men, being shot into the heart with a musket-ball, dropt down dead without speaking a word. This struck such a terror into the enemy, and put them in such confusion, that they fled and made all the sail they could towards the *Texel*. About thirty of their men of war were fir'd or sunk, and a great many prisoners taken. The victory

1653. was great, but cost the *English* dear; for eight of their brave captains, with about four hundred men were slain, and about seven hundred wounded; tho' they lost but one ship. This victory was so acceptable to general *Cromwell's* parliament, that they appointed a day of thanksgiving for it, and ordered a narrative of it to be publickly read; and gave several gold chains to *Blake*, *Monk*, *Penn*, and *Lawson*, for their good service, and a gratuity to the rest of the officers and seamen, according to their quality: And, 'tis said, that the lord-general himself put the chain, and the medal, with the representation of a sea-fight, about *Monk's* neck; and having invited him to dinner, made him wear it all the while.

They apply them-  
selves to  
the c un-  
cil of state  
and to the  
parlia-  
ment for  
peac , but  
in vain.

IN *Holland*, after this last defeat, and the loss of their brave admiral, all things were in great confusion and distraction: The common people no longer obey'd their government; the placarts of the states-general were contemn'd, and they in danger to be ruin'd and plunder'd by the ignorant and furious rabble. They therefore with all submission applied themselves by their ambassadors to the *English* council of state; but from them they could obtain no other terms of peace, than a coalition, satisfaction for damages, and security against the like for the future, and that the *Dutch* should take a lease for twenty one years for fishing, and pay an annual rent. The council of state being thus resolute, the plenipotentiaries resolv'd to try what terms of peace might be had from the parliament: But here they were more confounded and perplex'd than before; they found it was very difficult to treat with, and impossible to prevail upon these men,

who took the Dutch for the out-works of Babylon, and look'd upon them as carnal and worldly politicians, and enemies to the kingdom of Christ, which they thought was now approaching.

In this difficult conjuncture, the states met to consult what was fit to be

be done. 'Twas the opinion of *Holland*, never to enter into a coalition with *England*, but that a strict league defensive should be propos'd ; that they ought to contract foreign amities, particularly with *France*, and to equip out a fleet with all expedition. The rest of the provinces were for making a league with the elector of *Brandenburg*, and other *German* princes, and for assisting the *Scots*, many of whom were now rising under major-general *Middleton*. But these treaties were remote and dangerous, whilst their necessities were present ; for which reason they gave orders to their plenipotentiaries, " To protract time according as they saw disorders to encrass between *Cromwell* and his supreme authority ; to be ample in the generals concerning the defence of the reformed religion, and of the household of faith ; to reject the coalition, to offer to enter into a strict and intimate league ; but deal as tenderly as they could in point of reparation, satisfaction, or security."

THIS being all known to the council of state, it was communicated to the parliament ; who thereupon said, " That it was no more than was prophesyd in scripture, and in course to be expected, *That the gentiles should rage, and the kings of the earth set themselves against the kingdom of Christ ; but they should fall before him, and be broken in pieces.*" And they resolv'd now to humble them, by imposing very hard and mortifying articles upon them ; so that they seemed to be in no better state, than before the long parliament was dissolv'd. In this extremity the Dutch plenipotentiaries made their applications to the lord-general *Cromwell*, assuring him, " That in case he would depose the present powers, and assume the government to himself, they would be ready to accord with him, upon more moderate terms, and enter into such a defensive alliance, as would secure him against all his foreign and domestick enemies." They treat privately with general *Cromwell*.

1653. "enemies." The general found, that the proceedings of this parliament, tho' all of his own chusing, were so uncommon and unaccountable in many particulars, that none could judge of their designs, or where they would end. And so upon both these accounts he resolv'd to put a period to their power; and the means of doing it were concerted with *Rouse* the speaker, and some of the general's select friends in the house, who were to bring it to bear with as little disturbance as might be.

ACCORDINGLY, on the 12th of December in the morning, the members, who were in the secret, being met a little earlier than usual, it was mov'd in the house, *That the sitting of this parliament any longer, would not be for the good of the commonwealth, and that it would be fit for them to resign up their powers into the hands of the lord-general.* This being seconded and urged by *Sydenham, Wolley,* and others, the members on the contrary side, who were there, were much startled and spoke vehemently against it: Upon which, those who were for a resignation, being apprehensive, that by delaying time more might come to the house and out-vote them, presently mov'd, *That all who were for a dissolution, should rise and walk out.* Accordingly, the speaker and as many members as would follow him, went with the mace to *Whitehall*, and by a writing under their hands, resign'd up their powers to the general. Above twenty of the members, whereof major-general *Harrison* was one, continuing still in the house, plac'd Mr. *Moyer* in the chair, and fell to protesting against what the rest had done; but a party of soldiers was sent to turn them out, and so a period was put to this assembly, after a session of five months and eight days.

The parliament resign their powers to him.

He consults with his council of officers.

By this resignation, the politick *Cromwell*, with his council of officers, was once more posseſſ'd of the supreme power of the kingdom; whereupon he thought fit to advise with them, and with other persons

persons of interest in the nation, *How this great burden of governing England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the armies therein, and the navy at sea, should be born, and by whom.* These soon resolv'd, *That a council of godly, able and discreet persons should be named; and that the Lord General should be chosen Lord Protector of the three nations.*

UPON this, a large instrument was drawn up, He is de-entitled, *The government of the common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; commonly call'd, the Instrument of government.* It consisted of forty two articles, and was in substance as follows:

“ That the supreme legislative authority be, and  
“ reside in a single person, and the people in par-  
“ liament; the stile of which person to be *Lord  
“ Protector of the common-wealth of England, Scot-  
“ land, and Ireland.* The executive power to be  
“ in the *Protector*, with the advice of his council;  
“ the number whereof not to exceed twenty-one,  
“ nor be less than thirteen. All proceedings to  
“ run in the name and stile of the *Lord Protector*;  
“ and all honours, offices and titles to be derived  
“ from him; and that he may pardon all offences  
“ but treason and murder. The *militia*, in time  
“ of parliament, to be in his and their hands;  
“ but in the intervals only in his and his council's.  
“ He and his council to make war and peace with  
“ foreign princes. Not to make new laws, or  
“ abrogate old ones, without consent of parlia-  
“ ment. A parliament to be summon'd to meet  
“ at *Westminster* upon the third day of *September*,  
“ 1654, and afterwards every third year, and, if  
“ need be, oftner, which the *Protector* shall not  
“ dissolve without consent in parliament, till after  
“ five months. The parliament to consist of four  
“ hundred *English* to be chosen according to the  
“ proportions and numbers hereafter expressed,  
“ that is to say, for the county of *Bedford*, six;  
“ viz. for the town of *Bedford*, one; for the coun-

“ ty

1653. " ty of *Bedford*, five. For the county of *Berks*,  
" seven ; viz. for the borough of *Abingdon*, one ;  
" for the borough of *Reading*, one ; for the coun-  
" ty of *Berks*, five, &c. (The members for *Corn-*  
" *wall* were in this instrument reduc'd to twelve ;  
" those for *Essex* were enlarg'd to sixteen ; and the  
" city of *London* was to chuse six.) The members  
" for *Scotland* were to be thirty, and the same num-  
" ber for *Ireland*. The summoning the parlia-  
" ment to pass under the seal of the common-  
" wealth to the sheriffs ; and if the *Protector* omit  
" or deny that, then the commissioner of the seal  
" to be held under pain of treason to issue out such  
" writs ; and in case of failure in him, the high-  
" sheriffs. Such as are elected, to be return'd in  
" to the *Chancery* by the chief magistrates (sheriffs,  
" mayors, or bailiffs) within twenty days after the  
" election. If either the sheriff, mayor or bailiff  
" make a false return, or any ways procure an un-  
" due election, let him be fin'd two thousand  
" pounds. Those who have born arms against the  
" parliament to be uncapable of being elected, or  
" giving their vote for any members to serve in  
" the next parliament, or in the three succeeding  
" triennial parliaments ; and *Irish* rebels and *Pa-*  
" *pists* to be for ever uncapable. None to be elec-  
" ted under the age of twenty-one years, nor un-  
" less he be a man of good conversation. None  
" to have votes in elections, but such as are worth  
" 200*l.* Sixty to make a *Quorum*. Bills present-  
" ed to the *Protector*, if not assented to by him  
" within twenty days, to pass into laws notwith-  
" standing ; provided they contain nothing contra-  
" ry to this instrument. A competent revenue to  
" be settled for the maintenance of ten thousand  
" horse and dragoons, and twenty thousand foot  
" in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and for a con-  
" venient number of ships to guard the seas ; and  
" upon abating any of the forces by land or sea,

" the

“ the moneys to be brought to the *Exchequer* to 1653.  
“ serve sudden occasions. The raising of money  
“ for defraying the charge of the present extraor-  
“ dinary forces both at land and sea, to be by con-  
“ sent in parliament, and not otherwise; save only  
“ that the *Protector*, with the advice of his coun-  
“ cil, shall have power, until the meeting of the  
“ first parliament, to raise money for the purposes  
“ aforesaid, and also to make laws and ordinances  
“ for the peace and welfare of these nations; which  
“ shall be in force, till the parliament shall take  
“ order concerning the same. All forfeited lands  
“ unsold to belong to the *Protector*. The *Protec-*  
“ *torate* to be elective, but the royal family to be  
“ excluded; and no *Protector* after the present to  
“ be general of the army. *Oliver Cromwell* to be  
“ the present *Protector*. All the great offices of the  
“ common-wealth, such as chancellor, keeper of  
“ the seal, treasurer, admiral, governours of *Ire-*  
“ *land* and *Scotland*, &c. if they become void in  
“ time of parliament, to be supply'd with their  
“ approbation, and in intervals of parliament with  
“ the approbation of the council. The Christian  
“ Religion, as contain'd in the holy scriptures, to  
“ be the publick profession of these nations; and  
“ those that administer it, to be maintain'd by the  
“ publick, but by some way more convenient and  
“ less liable to envy than tithes. None to be com-  
“ pell'd to consent to the publick profession, by  
“ fine or any punishment whatever, but only by  
“ persuasion and arguments. None that profess  
“ faith in *Christ*, however otherwise they differ,  
“ to be restrain'd from, but to be protected in the  
“ exercise of their religion, so they do not quarrel  
“ with and disturb others; this liberty not to ex-  
“ tend to *Popery* or *Prelacy*. All sales of parlia-  
“ ment to stand good. Articles of peace to be  
“ kept. The *Protectors* successively, upon enter-  
“ ing on their charge, to swear to procure, by all  
“ means,

1653.

“ means, the peace, quiet and welfare of the common-wealth, to observe these articles, and to administer all things (to their power) according to the laws, statutes and customs.”

He is in  
stall'd.

ALL things being prepar'd, on the 16th of December, about three in the afternoon, his Excellency, the Lord General, went from *Whitehall* to the *Chancery* court, in the following manner: The commissioners of the great seal march'd first; then the judges and barons in their robes; next to them the council of the common-wealth; then the lord-mayor, aldermen, and recorder of *London*; after them, came the Lord General, attended with the chief officers of the army. In this procession they ascended the *Chancery* court, where was set a rich chair of state, with a large cushion, and carpets on the floor. The General stood on the left hand of it uncover'd, till the foremention'd instrument was read; which his Excellency subscrib'd in the face of the court, and took an oath in these words:

His oath.

“ WHEREAS the major part of the last parliament (judging that their sitting any longer, as then constituted, would not be for the good of the common-wealth) did dissolve the same, and by a writing under their hands, dated the 12th day of this instant December, resigned unto me their powers and authorities: And whereas it was necessary thereupon, that some speedy course should be taken for the settlement of these nations upon such a basis and foundation, as, by the blessing of God, might be lasting, secure property, and answer those great ends of religion and liberty, so long contended for: And upon full and mature consideration had of the form of government hereunto annexed, being satisfy'd that the same, thro' divine assistance, may answer the ends aforemention'd; and having also been desired and advised, as well by several persons of interest and fidelity in the

“ common-

1653.

" common-wealth, as the officers of the army, to  
" take upon me the protection and government of  
" these nations, in the manner expressed in the  
" said form of government: I have accepted  
" thereof, and do hereby declare my acceptance  
" accordingly; and do promise in the presence of  
" God, that I will not violate or infringe the mat-  
" ters and things contained therein; but to my  
" power, observe the same, and cause them to be  
" observed; and shall in all other things, to the  
" best of my understanding, govern these nations  
" according to the laws, statutes and customs, seek-  
" ing their peace, and causing justice and law to  
" be equally administer'd."

THIS done, he sat down in the chair, cover'd; and the commissioners deliver'd up the great seal to him, and the lord-mayor his sword and cap of maintenance; which the *Protector* immediately return'd to them again. The ceremony being over, the soldiers with a shout cry'd out, *God bless the Lord Protector of the common-wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland*. And so they went back to *Whitehall*, the lord-mayor uncover'd carrying the sword before his Highness. When they came into the *Banqueting-house*, Mr. *Lockier* made an exhortation to them; and so the lord-mayor, aldermen and judges departed.

PRESENTLY after, the following proclamation, He is pro-  
set forth by the council, was publish'd in the *Pa-* claim'd.  
*lace-yard*, at the *Old Exchange*, and several other  
places in *London*; and as soon as could be, through-  
out *England, Scotland, and Ireland*. "Whereas  
" the late parliament, dissolving themselves, and  
" resigning their powers and authorities, the go-  
" vernment of the common-wealth of *England*,  
" *Scotland* and *Ireland*, by a *Lord Protector* and suc-  
" cessive triennial Parliaments, is now establish'd:  
" And whereas *Oliver Cromwell*, captain-general  
" of all the forces of this common-wealth, is de-

1653. "clar'd Lord Protector of the said nations, and hath  
accepted thereof: We have therefore thought it  
necessary (as we hereby do) to make publica-  
tion of the premises, and strictly to charge and  
command all, and every person and persons, of  
what quality and condition soever, in any of the  
said three nations, to take notice thereof, and  
to conform and submit themselves to the govern-  
ment so establish'd. And all sheriffs, mayors,  
bailiffs, and other publick ministers and offi-  
cers, whom this may concern, are requir'd to  
cause this proclamation to be forthwith publish'd  
in their respective counties, cities, corporations,  
and market-towns; to the end none may have  
cause to pretend ignorance in this behalf." And  
now care was taken to alter all writs and proces-  
from the stile of the *Keepers of the liberties of Eng-*  
*land*, to that of *Protector*. Upon this new advance-  
ment, we are told, that *Cromwell* observ'd new and  
great state, and all ceremonies and respects were  
paid to him by all sorts of men, as to their Prince.

THUS, as has been observ'd by many, did this extraordinary man, with so little pains, mount himself into the throne of three kingdoms, without the title of *King*, but with more power and authority than had ever been exercis'd by any preceding King: He made the greatest figure in *Europe* in his time, and receiv'd greater marks of respect and esteem from all the Kings and Princes in *Christen-dom*, than had ever been shewn to any Monarch of these nations; which was the more wonderful, in that they all hated him, when they trembled at his power, and courted his friendship.

## C H A P. III.

*From his being declar'd PROTECTOR, to  
the meeting of his second Parliament.*

CROMWELL being thus rais'd to the power 1653. of a Monarch, proceeded in the exercise of his government, with the greatest vigour and industry. He and his council set forth several ordinances; among the rest, one declaring what offences should be adjudg'd treason; another for repealing those acts and resolves of parliament, which had formerly been made for subscribing to the *Engagement* against a single person and house of peers; another for appointing persons to be approvers of ministers. At his first assuming the government, there were three great parties in the nation all against him, the *Episcopal party*, the *Presbyterians*, and the *Republicans*: And it requir'd the greatest dexterity and skill to manage these very opposite factions, and to prevent the ill effects of the plots and conspiracies they were so ready to run into. He had only the army to rely upon; and that enthusiastick spirit he had taken so much pains to raise among them, render'd them very intractable; so that he was forc'd to break and imprison many of his officers; and he flatter'd the rest as well as he could, goingon in his old way of long and dark discourses.

He was apprehensive of assassination, and other plottings from the *Cavalier party*; as to the former of which, he took a method that prov'd of great use to him: He would many times openly declare,

“ That in a war it was necessary to return upon any side, all the violent things that any of the one side did to the other; and this for the preventing greater mischief, and for bringing men to fair war: And that assassinations were such detestable things, that he would never begin them; but if any of the King's party should en-

His condition and proceed-  
ings at his  
first enter-  
ing upon  
the go-  
vernment.

His ma-  
nagement  
with the  
army.

With the  
Cavaliers.

1653. " deavour to assassinate him, and fail in it, he would make an assassinating war of it, and destroy the whole family." And he pretended he had instruments to do this, whenever he should order it. This struck such a terror, that it prov'd a better security to him than his guards. And whenever they were plotting against him, he had his agents and spies amongst them, to give him notice of their preparations and proceedings; by which means all their schemes were broken, and their designs frustrate, before they could bring them to perfection.

With the  
Presby-  
terians.

THE *Presbyterians* so dreaded the fury of the common-wealth party, that they look'd upon *Cromwell's* turning them out to be a happy deliverance for them; and to soften these the more, he assur'd them he would maintain a publick ministry with all due encouragement, which the *Republicans* were mostly against; and he join'd them in a commission with some *Independents* to be *Tryers* of all publick preachers, who should, for the future, be admitted to any benefice. The persons so commission'd did likewise dispose of all the churches that were in the gift of the crown, of the bishops, and of the cathedral churches. Nevertheless, when he perceiv'd that the *Presbyterians* began to take too much upon them, to be uneasy under the government, or meddle in civil affairs, he found means to mortify them, and let loose against them those of the other se<sup>t</sup>s, who took pleasure in disputing with their preachers, and interrupting their religious worship; and 'tis said, he was by many heard to glory, *That he had curb'd that insolent sect, that would suffer none but itself.* So that they were forc'd to thank him for permitting them the exercise of their religious worship in their own congregations.

With the  
common-  
wealth  
party.

THE *Republican* party were his greatest enemies, and most bent on his ruin, looking on him as the person who had perfidiously broken all their measures,

1653.

sures, and betray'd their glorious cause. This party therefore he studied by all means to divide among themselves, and to set the fifth-monarchy men, and other enthusiasts, against those who proceeded only upon the principles of civil liberty ; such as *Algernoon Sidney, Henry Nevill, Martin, Ludlow, Wildman, and Harrington.*

As to *Vane* and his party, who were likewise call'd *Independents*, they indeed, from the time they were turned out of the long parliament, retir'd quietly into the country, where they endeavour'd to prejudice their neighbours against the present government, and yet managed themselves with so much caution, as not to disturb the quiet of the nation, nor give the *Protector* any great advantage against them.

THE *Levellers*, many of whom had been the most active *Agitators* in the army, were the most furious and desperate of all the common-wealth party. These, from the time that the General assum'd the title of *Protector*, which was to them as odious as that of *King*, profess'd a mortal hatred to his person, ; and he knew very well that these men, as well as the last mention'd, had great credit in his army, and with some of the chief officers ; so that he more really dreaded them, than all the King's party, and subtilly colour'd many of the preparations he made against them, as if they were design'd against the other. The fifth-monarchy men seem'd to be in daily expectation of the coming of King *Jesus*, and the *Protector* found it no easy matter to give them satisfaction, since his assuming the government after this manner, look'd like a step to kingship, which they represented as the great *Antichrist*, which hindered *Christ's* being set on his throne. To these men he would say with many tears, " That he would rather have taken a shepherd's staff than the " *Protectorship*, since nothing was more contrary

1653. " to his genius, than a shew of greatness : But he  
 saw it was necessary at that time, to keep the  
 nation from falling into extreme disorder, and  
 from becoming open to the common enemy ;  
 and therefore he only stept in between the liv-  
 ing and the dead, in that interval, till God  
 should direct them on what bottom they ought  
 to settle ; and then he would surrender the  
 heavy load lying upon him with a joy equal to  
 the sorrow with which he was affected, while  
 under that shew of dignity." He would also  
 carry himself with great familiarity towards these  
 men, and enter into the terms of their old equa-  
 lity, shutting the door, and making them sit down  
 cover'd by him, that they might see how little  
 he car'd for those distances, which for form  
 sake he was forc'd to keep up with others ; and  
 their discourse commonly ended in a long prayer.  
 Thus, with much ado, he pretty well managed  
 the *Enthusiasts* of the common-wealth party. As  
 to the other *Republicans*, many of whom were in-  
 clin'd to *Deism*, he call'd them the *Heathens*, and  
 acknowledged he could not so easily work upon  
 them. He had some chaplains of all sorts, and  
 became at length more gentle towards the *Episcopal*  
 party, who had their meetings in several places  
 about *London*, without being molested by him.  
 In the end, even the *Roman Catholicks* courted  
 him ; and he with wonderful art carry'd things  
 farther with all parties than was thought possible,  
 considering the great difficulties he had to en-  
 counter with.

THAT he might the better manage the several  
 factions he stood most in awe of, he made choice  
 of the most active and leading men into his coun-  
 cil, by whose influence he had the guiding of all  
 the rest of each party. The first persons nomi-  
 nated to be of his council, pursuant to the instru-  
 ment of government, where major-general *Lambert*,  
 lieu-

lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*, colonel *Montague*, (afterwards made Earl of *Sandwich* by King *Charles II.*) Philip lord viscount *Lisle* (since Earl of *Leicester*) colonel *Desborough*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* (afterwards Earl of *Shaftsbury*) Sir *Charles Wolsey*, major-general *Skippon*, Mr. *Strickland*, colonel *Sydenham*, colonel *Jones*, Mr. *Rouse*, Mr. *Lawrence*, and Mr. *Major*; in all fifteen.

ON the 21st of December, a proclamation was published by his Highness, with the advice and consent of his council, in the following terms : He sets out a proclamation.

“ Oliver, Lord Protector of the common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, considering, “ That whereas the exercise of the chief magistracy, and the administration of government, “ within the said common-wealth is invested and established in his Highness, assisted with a council ; and lest thereupon the settled and ordinary course of justice in the common-wealth (if remedy were not provided) might receive interruption ; his Highness, in his care of the state and publick justice thereof (reserving to future consideration the reformation and redress of any abuses by misgovernment, upon better knowledge taken thereof) is pleased, and doth hereby expressly signify, declare, and ordain, by and with the advice and consent of his council (who have power, until the meeting of the next parliament, to make laws and ordinances for the peace and welfare of these nations, where it shall be necessary ; which shall be binding and in force, until order shall be taken in parliament concerning the same) That all persons, who on the tenth day of this instant December, were duly and lawfully possessed of any place of judicature, or office of authority, jurisdiction, or government, within this common-wealth, shall be, and shall so hold themselves, continued in the said offices and places respectively, as

1653. " formerly they held and enjoy'd the same, and  
 " not otherwise, until his Highness's pleasure be  
 " farther known : And all the commissions, pa-  
 " tents, and other grants, which respect or relate  
 " unto the doing and executing of publick justice,  
 " and all proceedings of what nature soever in  
 " courts of common-law or equity, or in the  
 " court of admiralty, or by commissioners of  
 " sewers, shall stand and be in the same and like  
 " force to all intents and purposes, as the same  
 " were on the said tenth day of this instant De-  
 " cember, until farther order given by his High-  
 " ness therein : And that in the mean time (for  
 " preservation of the publick peace, and necessary  
 " proceedings in matters of justice, and for safety  
 " of the state) all the said persons, of whatsoever  
 " place, power, degree or condition, may not fail,  
 " every one severally, according to his respective  
 " place, office, or charge, to proceed in the per-  
 " formance and execution of all duties thereunto  
 " belonging, as formerly appertaining to them, and  
 " every of them, whilst the former government  
 " was in being. Given at Whitehall this 21st day  
 " of December, in the year of our Lord, 1653."

Several  
ordinances  
passed by  
him.

ON the 27th, the *Lord Protector* and his council pass'd an ordinance, for continuing the excise and the commissioners : Another for continuing the act for redemption of captives : And a third for the alteration of several names and forms, used heretofore in courts, writs, grants, patents, commissions, &c. and settling proceedings in courts of law and equity. And shortly after, another ordinance was pass'd, appointing a committee of the army, and treasurers at war, as formerly. These and a great many other ordinances were pass'd by the *Lord Protector* and his council, before the meeting of the parliament. His Highness apply'd himself very closely to business, and was indefatigable in the management of the publick affairs.

ALL

ALL things seeming to favour the *Protector* and his government, both at home and abroad, he was invited by the lord mayor and aldermen, to dine at *Grocers-ball* on the 8th day of *February*, being *Ash-Wednesday*. Accordingly, he rode thither in great state, the streets being rail'd on both sides, and the rails cover'd with blue cloth, and the several companies in their liveries standing all the way, according to their superiority, with the city banner and streamers of the respective companies set before them. The lord mayor *Viner*, with the aldermen in scarlet and gold chains, rode to *Temple-bar*, where meeting his Highness with his train, he delivered up the sword to him, and after a short congratulatory speech, they proceeded to *Grocers-ball* in the following manner : The city-marshall, with some other officers, marched first ; then six trumpets, and after them his Highness's life-guard ; next, eight trumpets more, followed by the city-streamers ; then the aldermen, and the two sheriffs after them ; then his Highness's heralds, with rich coats, adorn'd with the arms of the common-wealth. After them, the mace and cap of maintenance were carried before the lord mayor, who carried the sword bare-headed before his Highnes the Lord *Protector*, who followed with twelve footmen in grey liveries laced with silver, and other ornaments. After the *Protector* rode major-general *Skippon*, with the rest of the council, and the great officers of the army. Being come to *Grocers-ball*, the recorder made a speech to his Highness, declaring, “ How happy that city did account themselves under his auspicious government, and also in the enjoyment of his presence with them that day.” Then he was feasted in a most splendid and magnificent manner ; and before his departure he knighted the lord mayor with as much grace as if he had been King. At this feast, we are told, that when

1653.

His magnificient entertainment in the city.

1653. it was proposed to serve him on the knee, he refused it with some disdain, saying, *Such ceremonies should be only practised at Rome, where they are so greedy of ceremonies, or in kingdoms govern'd by tyrants ; but should be banished out of a Christian and Protestant common-wealth, as was that of England.* Within a short time after, his Highness invited the lord mayor, aldermen and sheriffs to dine with him at *Whitehall* : And it was observed, that in all his entertainments, audiences, &c. he maintain'd the port of a great Prince, as much as if he had been so born and bred ; that his soul extended itself always in proportion to the room that was given it, and in whatever space he stood, he always fill'd it. And now addresses were presented to the Lord Protector, from all parts of the three nations, congratulating his accession to the government ; and several foreign ministers came over to him, acknowledging his power, courting his alliance, and giving him his title of *Highness*.

1654.  
He con-  
cludes a  
peace  
with the  
Dutch.

THE Lord Protector soon concluded the peace with the Dutch, having brought them to accept of such conditions as he thought fit to give them : Among which one was, *That they should not permit any of the King's party, or any enemy of the common-wealth of England, to reside within their dominions* ; and another, which was contain'd in a secret article, to which the great seal of the States was affix'd, whereby they oblig'd themselves, “Never to permit the Prince of Orange to be their *Stadtholder*, “General or Admiral ; and also to deliver up the “island of *Polerone* in the *East-Indies*, which they “had taken from the *English* in the reign of King “James, into the hands of the *English East-India company* ; and to pay three hundred thousand “pounds for the old barbarous violence exercis'd “towards the *English* at *Amboyna*,” for which the two last Kings could not obtain any satisfaction : “That they should comply with the act of Navi-

“gation ;

Adresses  
and em-  
bassies to  
him.

1654.

"*gation*; and that they should own the sovereignty  
"of the sea to be in the common-wealth of *Eng-*  
"*land*, and no more dispute the flag." And thus  
about the beginning of *April*, the whole peace  
was concluded between the *Lord Protector* and the  
*States General*, with all the advantages to himself  
he could desire.

THE *Lord Protector*, according to the power given him by the *instrument of government*, supply'd the benches of the courts at *Westminster*, with the ablest of the lawyers, whom he had invited to the publick service. Mr. *Maynard*, *Twisden*, *Nudigate*, *Windham*, &c. were made serjeants at law; and Mr. *Matthew Hale* one of the justices of the common pleas, &c. Mr. *John Thurloe*, who had been secretary to the chief-justice *St. John*, when he was ambassador at the *Hague*, was advanced to the office of secretary of state. And to keep the other two nations in order and obedience, his Highness sent general *Monk* back again into *Scotland*, and his youngest son *Henry Cromwell* into *Ireland*, whom he made his lieutenant of that kingdom.

As the *Protector* discover'd a wonderful genius in the management of affairs at home, so his power and policy were more and more observed and reverenc'd abroad; and all nations now contended, by their ambassadors, which should render themselves most acceptable to him. *Denmark* had the favour of being taken into the *Dutch* treaty, upon the good terms of making the *States* responsible for one hundred and forty thousand pounds, to repair the damage which the *English* suffered from the *Danes*. About the same time, by the negotiation of his ambassador *Whitelock*, he made a firm alliance with the kingdom of *Sweden*. He forced *Portugal* to send an ambassador to beg peace, and to submit to make satisfaction for the offence they had committed in receiving Prince *Rupert*, by the payment of a great sum of money; and brought even the two crowns

He is  
fear'd and  
courted  
by foreign  
powers.

1654.

crowns of *France* and *Spain*, to sue for his alliance : For which purpose, the ambassador of the former, Monsieur de *Bordeaux*, had an audience of his Highness in the Banqueting-house, *Whitehall*, on the 29th of *March*, with the same state and ceremony, as is wont to be us'd towards sovereign Princes ; when he addressed himself thus to him.

The  
French  
ambassa-  
dor's  
speech to  
him.

" YOUR most serene Highness has already re-  
" " reiv'd some principal assurances of the King my  
" " master, of his desire to establish a perfect cor-  
" " respondency betwixt his dominions and *Eng-*  
" " *land*. His Majesty, this day, gives to your  
" " Highness some publick demonstration of the  
" " same ; and his sending his ambassador to your  
" " Highness, does plainly shew, that the esteem  
" " which his Majesty makes of your Highness, and  
" " interest of his people, have more power in his  
" " councils than many considerations, that would  
" " be of great concernment to a Prince less affect-  
" " ed with the one and the other. This proceed-  
" " ing, grounded upon such principles, and so  
" " different from what is only guided by ambition,  
" " renders the amity of the King my master as  
" " considerable for its firmness as its utility ; for  
" " which reason it is so eminently esteemed and  
" " courted by all the greatest Princes and Poten-  
" " tates of the earth. But his Majesty com-  
" " municates none to any with so much joy and  
" " cheerfulness, as to those whose virtuous acts and  
" " extraordinary merits render them more con-  
" " spicuously famous, than the largeness of their  
" " dominions. His Majesty is sensible, that all  
" " those advantages do wholly reside in your High-  
" " ness ; and that the divine providence, after so  
" " many calamities, could not deal more favourably  
" " with these three nations, no cause them to forget  
" " their past miseries with greater satisfaction, than  
" " by submitting them to so just a government.  
" And since it is not sufficient for the compleating  
" " of

1654.

“ of their happiness, to make them enjoy peace at home, because it depends no less on good correspondence with nations abroad ; the King my master does not doubt but to find also the same disposition in your Highness, which his Majesty here expresses in his letters. After so many dispositions expressed both by his Majesty and your Highness, towards the accommodation of the two nations, there is reason to believe, that their wishes will be soon accomplish'd. As for me, I have none greater, than to be able to serve the King my master, with the good pleasure and satisfaction of your Highness ; and that the happiness I have, to tender to your Highness the first assurances of his Majesty's esteem, may give me occasion, by my services, to merit the honour of your gracious affection.”

THE Protector's zeal for the protestant religion appear'd on several occasions ; of which I shall here insert one instance, leaving others to some following periods of this history. It is that of a letter to the Prince of Tarente in France, written in Latin (his Latin secretary being the immortal Milton) which is as follows :

OLIVERIUS, Protector Reip. Angliæ, Scotiæ, His letter  
Hiberniæ, &c. Illusterrimo Principi Tarentino, sa- to the  
lutem. Perspectus ex literis tuis ad me datis religi- prince of  
onis amor tuus, & in ecclesiæ reformatas pietas eximia,  
studiumq; singulare, in ista præsertim generis nobil- Tarente.  
itate ac splendore, eoq; sub regno, in quo, deficien-  
tibus ab orthodoxa fide, tot sunt nobilissimis quibusq;  
spes uberes propositæ, tot firmioribus incommoda sub-  
eunda ; permagno me plane gaudio ac voluptate af-  
fecit. Nec minus gratum erat placuisse me tibi eo  
ipso religionis nomine, quo nihil mibi dilectius atq;  
charius imprimis esse debet. Deum autem obtestor,  
quam de me spem ecclesiarum & expectationem esse of-  
tendis, si possim ei aliquando vel satisfacere, si opus  
erit, vel demonstrare omnibus, quam cupiam non deesse.

Nullum

1654. *Nullum equidem fructum laborum meorum, nullum bujus, quam obtineo in republica mea, sive dignitatis, sive muneris, nec ampliorem existimarem nec jucundiorum, quam ut idoneus sim, qui ecclesiae reformatæ vel amplificationi, vel incolumentati, vel, quod maximum est, paci serviam. Te vero hortor magnopere, ut religionem orthodoxam, qua pietate ac studio à majoribus acceptam profiteris, eadem animi firmitate atq; constantia ad extremum usque retineas. Nec sane quidquam erit te tuisq; parentibus religiosissimis dignius, nec quod pro tuis in me meritis, quanquam tua causa cupio omnia, optare tibi melius aut præclarius queam, quam si sic te pares atq; instituas, ut ecclesiae præsertim patriæ, quarum in disciplina tam fælici indole tamq; illustri loco natus es, quanto cæteris præludes, tanto firmius in te præsidium suis rebus constitutum esse sentiant.* Vale. Alba Aula, Die 26 Junii, 1654.  
*Illusterrimæ dignitatis vestræ studiosissimus,*

OLIVERIUS.

Which letter I have thus translated:

“ OLIVER, Protector of the common-wealthe  
“ of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c. To the most  
“ illustrious Prince of Tarente, greeting. It was  
“ a very great pleasure and satisfaction to me, to  
“ perceive by your Highness’s letter which you  
“ sent me, your love of religion, and your extra-  
“ ordinary zeal and concern for the reformed  
“ churches, especially considering your quality,  
“ and that you live in a country where such great  
“ things are promised to all persons of your rank,  
“ if they forsake the orthodox faith, and so many  
“ discouragements are laid in the way of those  
“ who continue stedfast. Nor was it less pleaf-  
“ ing to me, to find that your Highness approved  
“ of my care and concern for the same religion,  
“ than which nothing ought to be more dear and

“ precious to me. And I call God to witness,  
“ how desirous I am, according as I have ability  
“ and opportunity, to answer the hope and ex-  
“ pectation which you say the churches have con-  
“ cerning me, and to manifest it to all. Indeed  
“ I should esteem it the greatest and best fruit  
“ of my labours, and of this dignity, or office,  
“ which I hold in this common-wealth, to be  
“ put in a capacity of being serviceable either to  
“ the enlargement, or the safety, or, which is  
“ the chief of all, the peace of the reformed  
“ church. And I earnestly exhort your Highness  
“ that you would hold fast to the end the ortho-  
“ dox religion you have received from your fa-  
“ thers, with a firmness and constancy of mind  
“ equal to the piety and zeal you discover in the  
“ profession of it. Nor indeed can there be any  
“ thing more worthy of yourself and of your most  
“ pious parents ; and, though I could desire all  
“ things for your sake, yet I can wish you nothing  
“ better, nothing more excellent, in return for  
“ the civilities you have shewn me, than that  
“ you so conduct yourself, that the churches, es-  
“ pecially those of your own country, in whose  
“ discipline you were born with so happy a dis-  
“ position and of such a noble family, may find  
“ in you a protection answerable to the high sta-  
“ tion in which you are placed above others.  
“ Farewell. Whitehall, June 26, 1654. Your  
“ Highness's most affectionate and most devoted,

OLIVER.

THE Lord Protector had resolv'd more firmly to unite the three nations into one *common-wealth*. Accordingly, with consent of his council, he made an ordinance, April the 12th, declaring, “ How he had taken into consideration, that the people of *Sco:land* ought to be united with the people of *He makes an union of the three nations.*

1654. " of England, into one common-wealth, and under one government ; and had found, that in December 1651, the parliament then sitting had sent commissioners into Scotland, to invite the people of that nation unto such a happy union; who proceeded so far therein, that the shires and boroughs did accept of the said union, and assent thereunto : For the compleating and perfecting which union, he now ordain'd, *That all the people of Scotland, and of all the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, should be incorporated in to one common-wealth with England ; and in every parliament to be held successively for the said common-wealth, thirty persons should be call'd from, and serve for Scotland, &c.*" And shortly after, another ordinance was made for a like distribution of thirty members from Ireland, to serve in the parliament at Westminster. About the same time an ordinance was publish'd, prohibiting the planting of Tobacco in England ; which is a law at this day.

A conspiracy, for which Gerard and Vowel and are executed.

ABOUT this time several persons were apprehended, and charg'd with a conspiracy to murder the Lord Protector as he should be going to Hampton court, to seize the guards, the Tower of London, and the magazines, and to proclaim the King. The chief of these were Mr. Somerset Fox, Mr. John Gerard, and Mr. Vowel ; who being tried by a high court of justice, and condemn'd, Fox, who confess'd much of what was alledg'd against him, had the benefit of a reprieve ; but Gerard was beheaded on Tower-hill, and Vowel hang'd at Charing-cross ; both of them denying what they were accus'd of, and dying with great magnanimity and resolution.

The Portugal ambassador's brother commits a riot. ON the same day, there was another execution of an extraordinary nature : Don Pantaleon Sa, the Portugal ambassador's brother, a knight of Malta, and a person eminent in many great actions, who out of curiosity to see England, came over with the ambassador, happen'd to have a quarrel in the

New-

New-Exchange with the foremention'd Mr. Gerard; 1654.  
to revenge which, he went thither the next day, with servants arm'd with swords and pistols; where they kill'd another man, whom they took to be Mr. Gerard, and hurt and wounded several others. Upon this there was rais'd a great tumult, and the Portuguese flying to the ambassador's house, the people came flocking thither from all parts to seize the murderers. Cromwell being inform'd of the matter, sent an officer, with a party of soldiers, to demand and apprehend them; who more especially demanded of the ambassador the person of his brother, threatening, if he was not deliver'd up, to break open the house, and take him out by force. The ambassador insisted upon the privilege due to his house by the law of nations, and desir'd time to send to the *Protector*, to whom he made complaint of the violence done to him, and requested an audience. His Highness sent him word, "That a gentleman had been murder'd, and others wounded, and that *Justice must be satisfied*; requiring, that all persons concern'd might be deliver'd up to his officer; without which, if he should withdraw his soldiers, the people would execute justice, by a way for which he would not be answerable: But this being done, he should have an audience, and all the satisfaction it was in his power to give." The ambassador finding it in vain to contend, and the multitude increasing their cry, *That they would pull down the house*, he was, to his great grief, forc'd to deliver up his brother with the rest, who were all sent prisoners to *Newgate*. The ambassador was most earnest in his solicitations for his brother, being willing the others should be left to the law; but all the answer he could have, was, *That justice must be done*. And justice was done to the utmost; for being all try'd by a jury of half *English* and half foreigners, as many as were found guilty, and among them

1654. them the ambassador's brother, were condemn'd to die. All were hang'd at *Tyburn*, says the lord *Clarendon*; *Whitelock* says they were all repriev'd, except *Don Pantaleon*, who, immediately after the execution of *Gerard*, was convey'd from *Newgate* to *Tower-bill*, in a mourning coach and six horses, attended by several of his brother's retinue; and there, on the same scaffold, lost his head, with as much terror and dejection of spirit, as *Gerard* had done with courage and resolution. This mightily raised the opinion of the *Protector's* justice, as well as of his power. And 'tis very remarkable, that on the very day of this execution, the *Portugal* ambassador was oblig'd to sign the articles of peace between the two nations; whereupon he immediately went out of town.

*Dr. Wel-*  
*wood's re-*  
*mark up-*  
*on it.*

AND here Dr. *Welwood* remarks, " That what ever reason the house of *Austria* had to hate the memory of *Cromwell*, yet his causing the *Portugal* ambassador's brother to be executed, notwithstanding his plea of being a publick minister as well as his brother, was, near twenty years after *Cromwell's* death, brought as a precedent by the Emperor, to justify his arresting and carrying off the Prince of *Furstenburgh* at the treaty of *Cologne*, notwithstanding his being a plenipotentiary for the Elector of that name. And in the printed manifesto, publish'd by the Emperor on that occasion, this piece of *Cromwell's* justice is related at large."

*The Pro-*  
*tector*  
calls a  
parlia-  
ment.

The *Lord Protector* knowing, that tho' he had obtain'd the government, it was not confirm'd to him by the people, resolv'd, in pursuance of the *instrument of government*, to summon a parliament to meet at *Westminster* on the 3d of *September*; and accordingly order'd writs to be issued out for the election of members to serve in parliament, after the manner laid down in the said *instrument*. It was his greatest care how to manage this assembly,

so that they might proceed according to his own desires ; but tho' he had a great influence upon the people, and a great awe upon the sheriffs and magistrates, and brought the trial of elections into a committee of his own council, before the opening of the parliament, yet it prov'd not for his purpose ; as we shall see in the following chapter.

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C H A P. IV.  
*His Second PARLIAMENT.*

**O**N the 3d day of *September*, tho' it happen'd to be *Sunday*, the Lord Protector, who reckon'd that his fortunate day, would have the parliament open'd : And so the members, after hearing a sermon at *Westminster* abbey, attended his Highness in the *Painted Chamber* ; where he made a speech to them, shewing the cause of their summons ; after which, they went to their house, and adjourn'd to the next day. The Protector then rode in state from *Whitehall* to *Westminster* abbey, some hundreds of gentlemen and officers going before uncover'd, and next before the coach, his pages and lacqueys richly cloath'd : On the one side of his coach, went *Strickland*, one of his council, and captain of his guards, with the master of the ceremonies, both on foot ; and on the other side, walk'd colonel *Howard* (afterwards Earl of *Carlisle*) another captain of the guards. His son *Henry* and *Lambert* sat with him in the coach, bare-headed. After the coach came *Claypole*, master of the horse, with a gallant led horse, adorn'd with the richest trappings ; and next after him the commissioners of the great seal, and of the treasury, and divers of the council in coaches, and the ordinary guards. Being come to the abbey door, his Highness alighted ; and the officers of the army and the gentlemen went first, next them four maces, then the commissioners of the seal, *Whitelock*

T

carrying

1654. carrying the purse, and *Lambert* the sword before him. His Highness was seated over-against the pulpit, and the members of parliament plac'd themselves on both sides of him. After the sermon, which was preach'd by Mr. , his Highness went in the same equipage to the *Painted Chamber*; where being feated in a chair of state set upon steps, the members sitting upon benches round about, all bare, his Highness put off his hat, and made a long and subtle speech to them, which was in substance as follows:

His speech to the members. He told them "the Danger of the *Levelling Principles*, and of the *Fifth-monarchy* opinions, "of the *form of godliness*, and the great judgment "that had been upon this nation by ten years civil "war. That the two pretensions, *liberty of the subject*, and *liberty of conscience* (two as glorious things, and as much to be contended for, as any gift God hath given us) were brought in to patronize those evils. Nay, these abominations swelled to that height, that the ax was laid to the root of the ministry, as *Babylonish* and *Antiechristian*: And as the extremity was great before, so that no man, tho' well approv'd, and having a good testimony, might preach, if not ordain'd; so now, on the other hand, they will have ordination put a nullity upon the calling.

"I conceive in my very foul, said he, that many of the *Fifth-monarchy* opinion have good meanings; and I hope this parliament will (as *Jude* says, reckoning up the abominable apostacies of the last times) pluck some out of the fire, and save others with fear; making those of peaceable spirits, the subjects of their encouragement, and saving others by that discipline that God hath ordain'd to reform miscarriages: The danger of that spirit being not in the notion, but in its proceeding to a civil transgression; when men come into such a practice, as

"to

“ to tell us, that liberty and property are not the bodies of that kingdom, and that instead of regulating laws, laws must be subverted, and perhaps the judicial law imposed, or some fancy instead of it (for that was good and honourable in the institution, tho’ now by some misapply’d;) especially when every stone is turn’d to bring in confusion; this will be a consideration worthy of the magistrate.

“ WHILST these things were in the midst of us, and the nation rent and torn from one end to the other; family against family, parent against child, and nothing in the hearts and minds of men, but *Overtur*n, *Overtur*n, (a scripture very much abus’d and challeng’d by all men of discontented spirits;) that common enemy in the mean time sleeps not; swarms of *Jesuits* come over, and have their consistories abroad, to rule all the affairs of *England*, and the dependencies thereof: In the mean time visible endeavours were us’d to hinder the work in *Ireland*, to obstruct the work in *Scotland*; correspondencies and intelligences were held to encourage the war in those places.

“ AND withal, we were deeply engag’d in a war with *Portugal*, whereby our trade ceas’d; and not only so, but a war with *Holland*, which consum’d our treasure, as much as the assessment came to. At the same time we fell into a war with *France*, or rather we were in it; and all this fomented by the divisions amongst us, which begat a confidence, we could not hold out long; and the calculation had not been ill, if the Lord had not been gracious to us. Besides, strangers increased in the manufacture, the great staple commodity of this nation.

“ IN such an heap of confusion was this poor nation; and that it might not sink into a confusion from the premises, a remedy must be ap-

1654. plied : A remedy hath been applied, *This go-  
vernment.* A thing that is seen and read of all,  
and which (let men say what they will, I can  
speak with comfort before a greater than you all,  
as to my intention ; and let men judge out of  
the thing itself ) is calculated for the interest of  
the people, for their interest alone, and for their  
good, without respect had to any other interest.

" I may, with humbleness towards God, and  
modesty before you, say something in the be-  
half of it.

" IT hath endeavour'd to reform the laws, and  
for that end hath join'd persons (without reflec-  
tion upon any) of as great integrity and ability  
as any other, to consider how the laws might  
be made plain, short and easy ; which may in  
due time be tendered.

" IT hath taken care to put into seats of justice,  
men of the most known integrity and ability.

" THE Chancery hath been reform'd, and I  
hope to the just satisfaction of all good men.

" IT hath put a stop to that heady way, for e-  
very man that will, to make himself a preacher,  
having endeavour'd to settle a way for approba-  
tion of men of piety and fitness for the work,  
and the busines committed to persons both of  
the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* judgment ; men  
of as known ability and integrity, as (I suppose)  
any the nation hath, and who (I believe) have  
labour'd to approve themselves to God and their  
own consciences, in approving men to that great  
function.

" IT hath taken care to expunge men unfit for  
that work, who have been the common scorn  
and reproach to that administration.

" ONE Thing more : It hath been instrumental  
to call a free parliament ; blessed be God, we  
see here this day a free parliament ; and that it  
may continue so, I hope is in the heart of every  
good

“ good man of *England* : For my own part, as I  
“ desir'd it above my life, so to keep it free, I  
“ shall value it above my life.

“ A peace is made with *Sweden*, (wherein an  
“ honourable person [meaning *Whitelock*] was in-  
“ strumental) it being of much importance to have  
“ a good understanding with our *Protestant* neigh-  
“ bours.

“ A peace is also made with the *Danes*, and a  
“ peace there that is honourable, and to the satis-  
“ faction of the merchants.

“ THE *Sound* is open to us, from whence, as  
“ from a fountain, our naval provisions are sup-  
“ plied.

“ A peace is made with the *Dutch*, which is so  
“ well known in the consequences of it, and the  
“ great advantages of a good understanding with  
“ *Protestant* states.

“ I beg that it may be in your hearts to be zealous  
“ of the *Protestant* interest abroad, which if ever it  
“ be like to come under a condition of suffering,  
“ it is now ; many being banish'd, and driven to  
“ seek refuge among strangers.

“ A peace is made with *Portugal*, (tho' it hung  
“ long) of great concernment to trade ; and the  
“ people that trade thither, have freedom to en-  
“ joy their consciences, without being subjected  
“ to the bloody inquisition.

“ A treaty with *France* likewise is now de-  
“ pending.

“ IT may be necessary, in the next place, for  
“ you to hear a little of the sea affairs, and to  
“ take notice of the great expence of the forces  
“ and fleet ; and yet 30000*l.* is now abated of the  
“ next three months assessment.

“ THESE things, which I have before men-  
“ tioned, are but entrances, and doors of hope ;  
“ you are brought to the edge of *Canaan* (into  
“ which many that have gone before could not

1654. " enter) but if the blessing and presence of God go along with you in the management of your affairs, I make no question but he will enable you to lay the top-stone of this work.

" But this is a maxim not to be despised, Tho' peace be made, yet it is interest that keeps peace, and farther than that, peace is not to be trusted.

" THE great end of calling this parliament, is, that the work of God may go on, that the ship of this Common-wealth may be brought into a safe harbour.

" I shall put you in mind, that you have a great work upon you; Ireland to look to, that the beginning of that government may be settled in honour.

" THAT you have before you, the consideration of those foreign states, with whom peace is not made; who, if they see we manage not our affairs with prudence, as becomes men, will retain hopes, that we may still, under the disadvantages thereof, break into confusion.

" I shall conclude with my persuasion to you, to have a sweet, gracious, and holy understanding one of another, and put you in mind of the counsel you heard this day in order thereunto.

" AND I desire you to believe, that I speak not to you, as one that would be Lord over you, but as one that is resolved to be a fellow servant with you to the interest of this great affair."

THEN he wish'd them to repair to their house, and exercise their own liberty in the choice of their speaker,

They chuse Lenthal their speaker, and debate their on the instrument of government. BEING come to the parliament house, they almost unanimously made choice of the old speaker Mr. William Lenthal, master of the Rolls, to be Protector's Instrument of Government into consideration; and the first debate they fell upon, was, Whether

ther the supreme legislative power, of the nation 1654.  
should be in a single person, and a parliament. And here many warm speeches were made in direct opposition to a single person; and one said, " That they could not but discern the snares laid to trap the people's privileges ; and for his own part, as God had made him instrumental in cutting down tyranny in one person, so he could not endure to see the nation's liberties shackled by another, whose right to the government could be measur'd out no other ways than by the length of his sword, which was only that which emboldened him to command his commanders." These debates continued for seven or eight days together, to the great grief of the Protectorians, who to save themselves were necessitated to find means for protracting time, and adjourning the house, when the question was ready to be put, because they plainly saw it would be carry'd in the negative.

His Highness being inform'd of these proceedings, and fearing to have that great question put, left he should be depos'd by a vote of this assembly, on the 12th of September early in the morning, caused a guard to be plac'd at the door of the house, and sent to the Lord Mayor to acquaint him with the reasons of what he was about to do, that he might prevent any disorder in the city. The members coming at the usual hour, were deny'd entrance, and commanded to attend the Lord Protector in the Painted Chamber ; where he spoke to them as follows :

He told them, " That when he met them a few days since, and deliver'd his mind unto them, he did it with much more hopes and comfort than now ; and that he was very sorry to find them falling into heats and divisions. He represented to them the miscarriages of the long parliament, and declar'd, That he had of-

1654. " ten press'd that assembly, as a member, to put  
" a period to themselves, telling them, *That the*  
" *nation loath'd their sitting*; and when they were  
" dissolved, there was no visible repining at it,  
" *no not so much as the barking of a dog.* He  
" shewed them, by what means he came to the  
" government, together with the consent that the  
" people had many ways given thereunto; and  
" said, that the other day when he told them they  
" *were a free parliament*, he did also consider, there  
" *was a Reciprocation*: For that the same govern-  
" ment, which made them a parliament, made him  
" Protector; and as they were entrusted with some  
" things, so he was with others. That there were  
" some things in the government *fundamental*,  
" which could not be altered; as, 1. *That the go-*  
" *vernment should be in one person and a parliament*.  
" 2. *That parliaments should not be made perpetual*;  
" which would deprive the people of their suc-  
" cessive elections: *Nor that the parliament should be*  
" *always sitting*, that is, as soon as one parliament  
" is up, another should come and sit in their  
" places the very next day; which could not be,  
" without subjecting the nation to an arbitrary  
" power in governing, because parliaments, when  
" they sit, are absolute and unlimited. The third  
" fundamental was in the matter of the *militia*:  
" For in order to prevent the two aforemention'd  
" inconveniencies, the militia was not to be en-  
" trusted in *any one hand or power*, but to be so  
" disposed, that as the *parliament* ought to have a  
" check upon the *Protector*, to prevent excesses in  
" him; so on the other hand, the *Protector* might  
" have a check upon the *parliament*, to prevent  
" excesses in them; because if the *militia* were  
" wholly in the *parliament*, they might, when they  
" would, perpetuate themselves: But now the  
" *militia* being disposed as it is, the one stands as  
" a counterpoize to the other; which renders the  
" balance of government the more even, and the  
" govern-

1654.

" government itself the more firm and stable.  
 " The fourth fundamental in the government,  
 " was about a due liberty of conscience in matters of  
 " religion; wherein bounds and limits ought to be  
 " set, so as to prevent persecution. That the rest  
 " of the things in the government were examin-  
 " able, and alterable, as the occasion and the state  
 " of affairs should require. That as for a *negative*  
 " voice, he claimed it not, save only in the afore-  
 " said particulars. That in all other things he  
 " had only a deliberative power; and if he did  
 " not pass such laws as were presented to him,  
 " within twenty days after their presentment,  
 " they were to be laws without his consent.  
 " Therefore, things being thus, he was sorry to  
 " understand that any of them should go about to  
 " overthrow what was so settled, contrary to  
 " their trust received from the people; which  
 " could not but bring on very great inconveni-  
 " encies: To prevent which, he was necessitated  
 " to appoint a *test*, or *recognition*, of the go-  
 " vernment, which was to be sign'd by them,  
 " before they went any more into the house."

THE said *test* or *recognition* was in these words: *I A. B. do hereby freely promise and engage myself to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector and them a the common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and shall not (according to the tenour of the indenture, whereby I am returned to serve in this present parliament) propose, or give any consent to alter the government, as it is settled in one single person, and a parliament.* He app-  
points  
to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector and them a  
teſt.

THIS being ingross'd in parchment, was laid Which is  
on a table near the door of the house, for the subscribed  
members to subscribe before they should be qua-  
lify'd to sit. Accordingly, within a day or two,  
it was signed by about a hundred and thirty of  
them, and some days after by above as many more,  
who thereupon took their places in the house.  
by several  
members.

'Tis

1654. 'Tis said, that those, who refus'd to subscribe this engagement, were not only excluded, but some of them taken into custody. Major-general *Harrison*, the Protector's late great favourite, was now secur'd by a party of horse, by his Highness's order; and colonel *Rich*, Mr. *Carew* and others, being summoned before the council, were requir'd to surrender their commissions; and because they refus'd to engage not to act against the Lord Protector and his government, they were committed to prison.

Their declaration thereupon.

They debate the remaining articles of go-  
vernment.

A debate arising in the house concerning the *Recognition*, it was thereupon declar'd, "That it should not be intended to comprehend the whole, contained in the forty-two articles of the *instrument of government*, but only that which requir'd the government of the common-wealth to be by a single person, and successive parliaments." The great point concerning the single person being over-rul'd, the house apply'd themselves to the consideration and debate of the remaining clauses of the *instrument of government*. They declar'd, "That Oliver Cromwell should be Protector during life; and limited the number of forces to be kept up in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, with provision for the payment of them. They agreed upon the number of ships, that they thought necessary for the guard of the seas; and order'd two hundred thousand pounds a year for the Protector's own expence, the salaries of his council, the judges, foreign intelligence, and the reception of ambassadors; and that *Whitehall*, *St. James's*, the *Mews*, *Somerset-house*, *Greenwich*, *Hampton-Court*, *Windsor*, and the manour of *York*, be kept unfolded for the Protector's use. They also voted a clause to be inserted, to declare the rights of the people of *England*, and particularly, that no money should be raised upon the nation, but by autho-

1654.

authority of parliament. And whereas by the instrument of government it was provided, that if the parliament were not sitting at the death of the present Protector, the council should chuse a successor ; they resolv'd, that nothing should be determin'd by the council after his death, but the calling of a parliament, who were then to consider what they would have done. They also approv'd and confirmed the present Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, the present Lords Commissioners of the great seal of *England*, the commissioners of the treasury, and the two chief justices. Among other things, they debated the point of *liberty of conscience* upon the new government, and agreed to allow it to all, *who shall not maintain Atheism, Popery, Prelacy, Profaneness, or any damnable Heresies, to be enumerated by the parliament.*"

THIS highly pleased some men ; and it is observable, that during these debates, the ministers were so forward and zealous, that they propos'd several *fundamentals* in religion (*viz.* their own beloved opinions) to the parliament to be established by them. These debates upon the government continued for some months, in which time also the house took a transient view of the Protector's own ordinances ; particularly, one for paying the money into the treasury, rais'd for the propagation of the Gospel in *Wales* : Another, to make soldiers free in corporations : Another to remove all scandalous preachers and ministers ; and a fourth for the surveying of King's and Churches lands. And having gone through the instrument of government, they pass'd this additional vote, *That no one clause, of what they had agreed upon, should be looked upon as binding, unless the whole were consented to.*

DURING these debates in parliament, an odd accident happened to the Protector, which very much endanger'd his life. He having taken upon himself

A private  
accident  
to the Pro-  
tector.

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himself the whole government of the nation, and sent ambassadors and agents to foreign kingdoms and states, was again very much courted by them, and presented with the rarities of several countries; and the Duke of Holstein among the rest made him a present of a gallant set of grey Friezeland coach-horses. With these he had a mind to take the air in the Park, attended only with his secretary Thurloe and his guards. Being come into the Park, he would needs take the place of the coach-man; and so mounting the box, he began to lash and drive them on very furiously: But the horses not us'd to such rough management, ran away with full speed, and never stopp'd, till their driver was thrown with great violence out of the box; with which fall his pistol fir'd in his pocket, though he had the good fortune to receive no hurt.

The parliament  
not for his  
purpose.

IN the debates upon the government, many things were said, which gave great offence to the Protector and his council, and made it plainly appear, that the parliament were not inclinable to answer their whose desire and expectation, and fall in with all they design'd: Hereupon he grew very uneasy, till the five months allow'd for their sitting, by his own *instrument of government*, should be expir'd. And though the form of government, which they had agreed to, differ'd not in any material point, from that which himself had set up, unless it were in reserving the nomination of his successor to the parliament; yet this one thing was thought very disagreeable to him, and some of his council. However, the dissolution of this assembly was, after much debate in council, resolv'd on; and so the five months of their session, according to the soldiers account of twenty-eight days to the month, were no sooner ended, but the members on the 22d of January were required to attend him in the Painted-chamber, where he dissolved them with this most tedious and intricate speech.

GEN-

“ GENTLEMEN, I perceive you are here as 1654.  
 “ the house of parliament, by your speaker, whom  
 “ I see here, and by your faces, which are, in a  
 “ great measure, known to me.”

He makes  
a speech,  
and dif-

“ WHEN I first met you in this room, it was solves  
 “ to my apprehension the hopefulest day that e- them.  
 “ ver mine eyes saw, as to the considerations of  
 “ this world: For I did look at (as wrapt up in  
 “ you, together with my self) the hopes and the  
 “ happiness of (tho' not of the greatest, yet a ve-  
 “ ry great, and) the best people in the world;  
 “ and truly and unfeignedly I thought so; as a  
 “ people that have the highest and clearest profes-  
 “ sion amongst them of the greatest glory (to wit)  
 “ religion; as a people that have been like other  
 “ nations, sometimes up and sometimes down, in  
 “ our honour in the world, and yet never so low,  
 “ but we might measure with other nations; and  
 “ a people that have had a stamp upon them from  
 “ God, God having (as it were) summed all our  
 “ former glory and honour, in the things that are  
 “ of glory to nations, in an *Epitome*, within these  
 “ ten or twelve years last past; so that we knew  
 “ one another at home, and are well known a-  
 “ broad.

“ AND (if I be not very much mistaken) we  
 “ were arriv'd (as I, and truly, as I believe, ma-  
 “ ny others did think) at a very safe port, where  
 “ we might sit down, and contemplate the dispen-  
 “ sations of God, and our mercies not to have  
 “ been like to those of the ancients, who did make  
 “ out their peace and prosperity, as they thought,  
 “ by their own endeavours; who could not say,  
 “ as we, that all ours were let down to us from  
 “ God himself, whose appearances and providences  
 “ amongst us are not to be out-match'd in any  
 “ story.

“ TRULY this was our condition, and I know  
 “ nothing else we had to do, save as *Israel* was

1654. " commanded, in that most excellent Psalm of David, Psalm lxxviii. ver. 4, 5, 6, 7. The things which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us, we will not hide them from their children, shewing to the generation to come the praise of the Lord, and his strength, and his wonderful works which he hath done; for he establish'd a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a law in Israel, which he commanded our fathers that they should make them known to their children, that the generation to come might know them, even the children that should be born, who should arise and declare them to their children, that they might set their hope in God, and not forgot the works of God, but keep his commandments.

" This, I thought, had been a song and a work worthy of England, whereunto you might have happily invited them, had you had hearts unto it.

" You had this opportunity fairly deliver'd unto you; and if a history shall be written of these times, and of transactions, it will be said (it will not be denied) but that these things I have spoken are true.

" THIS Talent was put into your hands, and I shall recur to that which I said at the first: I came with very great joy, and contentment, and comfort, the first time I met you in this place; but we and these nations are, for the present, under some disappointment. If I had purpos'd to have play'd the orator, which I did never affect, nor do, nor I hope shall, I doubt not but upon easy suppositions, which I am persuaded every one of you will grant, we did meet upon such hopes as these.

" I met you a second time here, and I confess at that meeting I had much abatement of my hopes, tho' not a total frustration. I confess, that that which dampt my hopes so soon, was

" some-

" somewhat that did look like a *parricide*. It is 1654.  
" obvious enough unto you, that the management  
" of affairs did favour of a *not-owning*, too too  
" much favour, I say, of a *not-owning* the *authority*  
" that *called* you hither; but God left us not with-  
" out an expedient, that gave a second *possibility*.  
" Shall I say a *possibility*? It seemed to me a *pro-*  
" *bability* of recovering out of that *dissatisfy'd con-*  
" *dition*, we were all then in, towards some mu-  
" tuality of *satisfaction*; and therefore by that *re-*  
" *cognition* suiting with the *indenture* that return'd  
" you hither, to which afterwards also was added  
" your own declaration, conformable to, and in  
" acceptance of that expedient; whereby you had  
" (tho' with a little check) another opportunity  
" renew'd unto you, to have made this nation as  
" happy, as it could have been, if every thing  
" had smoothly run on from the first hour of your  
" meeting.

" AND indeed (you will give me liberty of my  
" thoughts and hopes) I did think, as I have for-  
" merly found in that way that I have been enga-  
" ged as a soldier, that some affronts put upon  
" us, some disasters at the first have made way for  
" very great and happy successes.

" AND I did not at all *despond*, but the *stop* put  
" upon you, would in like manner have made  
" way for a blessing from God, that that *Inter-*  
" *ruption* being, as I thought, necessary to divert  
" you from destructive and violent proceedings,  
" to give time for better deliberations; whereby  
" leaving the government as you found it, you  
" might have proceeded to have made those good  
" and wholesome *laws* which the people expected  
" from you; and might have answered the *grie-*  
" *vances* and settled those other things proper to  
" you as a *parliament*, and for which you would  
" have had thanks from all that intrusted you.

" WHAT

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" WHAT hath happen'd since that time, I  
 " have not taken publick notice of, as declining  
 " to intrench upon parliament privileges ; for sure  
 " I am, you will all bear me witnes that from  
 " your entering into the house upon the *Recogni-*  
 " *tion*, to this very day, you have had no manner  
 " of *interruption* or hindrance of mine, in pro-  
 " ceeding to that blessed issue the heart of a good  
 " man could propose to himself, to this very day.  
 " You see you have me very much lock'd up,  
 " as to what you transacted among yourselves,  
 " from that time to this ; but something I shall  
 " take liberty to speak of to you. As I may not  
 " take notice what you have been doing, so I think  
 " I have very great liberty to tell you that I do not  
 " know what you have been *doing* : I do not know  
 " whether you have been alive or dead : I have  
 " not once *heard* from you in all this time ; I have  
 " not, and that you all know : If that be a fault that  
 " I have not, surely it hath not been mine.  
 " IF I have had any *melancholy thoughts*, and  
 " have sat down by them, why might it not have  
 " been very lawful to me, to think that I was a  
 " person judg'd *unconcern'd* in all these businesses ?  
 " I can assure you, I have not reckon'd my self,  
 " nor did I reckon myself *unconcern'd* in you ; and  
 " so long as any *just patience* could support my ex-  
 " pectation, I would have waited to the uttermost  
 " to have received from you, the issues of your  
 " *consultations* and *resolutions* ; I have been careful  
 " of your *safety*, and the safety of those that you re-  
 " presented, to whom I reckon myself a servant.  
 " BUT what messages have I disturb'd you with-  
 " al ? What *injury* or *indignity* hath been done or  
 " offer'd, either to your persons, or to any pri-  
 " vileges of parliament, since you sat ? I look at  
 " myself as strictly oblig'd by my *oath*, since your  
 " recognizing the government, in the *authority* of  
 " which you were called hither, and sat, to give  
 " you

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“ you all possible security, and to keep you from  
any unparliamentary interruption.

“ THINK you I could not say more upon this  
subject, if I listed to expatiate thereupon? But  
because my actions plead for me, I shall say no  
more of this.

“ I say, I have been caring for you, your quiet  
sitting, caring for your privileges (as I said be-  
fore) that they might not be interrupted; have  
been seeking of God, from the great God, a  
blessing upon you, and a blessing upon these na-  
tions; I have been consulting, if possibly I  
might in any thing promote, in my place, the  
real good of this parliament, of the hopefulness  
of which I have said so much unto you.

“ AND I did think it to be my busines, rather  
to see the utmost issue, and what God would  
produce by you, than unseasoanbly to intermed-  
dle with you. But, as I said before, I have been  
caring for you, and for the peace and quiet of  
the nations, indeed I have, and that I shall a lit-  
tle presently manifest unto you.

“ AND it leadeth me, to let you know some-  
what that I fear, I fear will be thro' some in-  
terpretation, a little too justly put upon you,  
whilst you have been employ'd as you have been  
(and in all that time expressed in the govern-  
ment, in that government, I say, in that govern-  
ment) brought forth nothing that you yourselves  
can be taken notice of without infringement of  
your privileges.

“ I will tell you somewhat, that (if it be not  
news to you) I wish you had taken very serious  
consideration of; if it be news, I wish I had ac-  
quainted you with it sooner; and yet if any  
man will ask me why I did it not, the reason is  
given already, because I did make it my busi-  
ness to give no interruption.

U

“ THERE

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“ THERE be some trees that will not grow under the shadow of other trees ; there be some that chuse (a man may say so by way of allusion) to thrive under the shadow of other trees ; I will tell you what hath thriven, I will not say what you have cherisht under your shadow, that were too hard. Instead of the peace and settlement, instead of mercy and truth being brought together, righteousness and peace kissing each other, by reconciling the honest people of these nations, and settling the woful distempers that are amongst us, (which had been glorious things, and worthy of Christians to have propos'd) weeds and nettles, briars and thorns have thriven under your shadow. Dissettlement and divisions, discontentment and dissatisfaction, together with real dangers to the whole, has been more multiplied within these five months of your sitting, than in some years before.

“ FOUNDATIONS have been also laid for the future renewing the troubles of these nations, by all the enemies of it abroad and at home ; let not these words seem too sharp, for they are true, as any mathematical demonstrations are or can be ; I say, the enemies of the peace of these nations abroad and at home, the discontented humours throughout these nations, which I think no man will grudge to call by that name, or to make to allude to briars and thorns, they have nourish'd themselves under your shadow.

“ AND that I may be clearly understood, they have taken the opportunities from your sitting, from the hopes they had, which with easy conjecture they might take up, and conclude, that there would be no settlement, and therefore they have framed their designs, preparing for the execution of them accordingly.

“ Now whether (which appertains not to me to judge of on their behalf) they had any occa-

“ sion

“ sion minister’d for this, and from whence they  
“ had it, I list not to make any scrutiny or search ;  
“ but I will say this, I think they had them not  
“ from me, I am sure they had not ; from whence  
“ they had it, is not my business now to dis-  
“ course, but that they had, is obvious to every  
“ man’s sense.

“ WHAT preparations they have made to *exe-  
cute* in such a season as they thought fit to take  
“ their opportunity from, that I know (not as men  
“ know things by conjecture, but) by certain de-  
“ monstrable knowledge, that they have been (for  
“ some time past) furnishing themselves with *arms*,  
“ nothing doubting but that they should have a  
“ day for it, and verily believing that whatsoever  
“ their former *disappointments* were, they should  
“ have more done for them, by and from our own  
“ *divisions*, than they were able to do for them-  
“ selves. I do not, and I desire to be understood  
“ so, that in all I have to say on this subject, you  
“ will take it that I have no reservation in my  
“ mind to mingle things of *guess* and *suspicion*  
“ with things of *fact*, but the things I am telling  
“ are *fact*, things of evident *demonstration*.

“ THESE weeds, briars and thorns, they have  
“ been preparing, and have brought their *designs*  
“ to some maturity, by the advantages given to  
“ them, as aforesaid, from your *sitting* and *proceed-  
ings*; but by the *waking eye* that watched over  
“ that *cause* that God will bless, they have been  
“ and yet are *disappointed*. And having mention’d  
“ that *cause*, I say, that *slighted cause*, let me speak  
“ a few words in behalf thereof (tho’ it may seem  
“ too long a digression : ) Whosoever despiseth it,  
“ and will say it is *Non causa pro causa*, the all-  
“ searching eye before mention’d will find out  
“ that man, and will judge him, as one that re-  
“ gardeth not the *works* of God, nor the *ope-  
rations* of his hands, for which God hath threaten’d

“ It hath not been only thus ; but as in a *quinsy* or *pleurify*, where the humour fixeth in one part, give it scope, it will gather to that place, to the hazarding of the whole ; and it is natural to do so, till it destroy nature, in that person on whomsoever this befals.

“ So likewise will those diseases take accidental causes of aggravation of their distemper ; and this was that which I did assert, that they have taken accidental causes, for the growing and increasing of those distempers, as much as would have been in the natural body, if timely remedy were not applied. And indeed, things were come to that pass (in respect of which I shall give you a particular account) that no mortal physician, if the great physician had not stept in, could have cured the distemper.

“ SHALL I lay this upon your account, or my own ? I am sure I can lay it upon God’s account, that if he had not stept in, the disease had been mortal and destructive ; and what is all this ? Truly I must needs say, a company of men, still like briars and thorns, and worse, if worse can be, of another sort than those before mention’d to you, have been, and yet are, endeavouring to put us into blood, and into confusion, more desperate and dangerous confusion than *England* ever yet saw.

“ AND I must say, as when *Gideon* command-ed his son to fall upon *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, and slay them, they thought it more noble to die by the hand of a man, than of a stripling ; which shews, there is some contentment in the hand by which a man falls ; so it is some satisfaction, if a commonwealth must perish, that it perish by men, and not by the hands of persons differing little from beasts ; that if it must needs suffer, it should rather suffer from rich men, than from poor men, who, as *Solomon* says, when they op-

“ pres,

" press, they leave nothing behind them, but are 1654.  
" as sweeping rain.

" Now, such as these also are grown up un-  
" der your shadow. But it will be ask'd, what  
" have they done? I hope, tho' they pretend the  
" commonwealth's interest, they have had no en-  
" couragement from you, but that as before, ra-  
" ther taken it, than that you have administer'd  
" any cause unto them for so doing, from delays,  
" from hopes that this parliament would not set-  
" tle, from pamphlets, mentioning strange votes  
" and resolves of yours, which I hope did abuse  
" you. Thus you see, whatever the grounds were,  
" these have been the effects. And thus I have  
" laid these things before you, and others will be  
" easily able to judge how far you are concern'd.

" AND what have these men done? They have  
" also labour'd to pervert where they could, and  
" as they could, the honest-meaning people of the  
" nation; they have labour'd to engage some in  
" the army; and I doubt, that not only they, but  
" some others also, very well known to you, have  
" helped in this work of debauching and dividing  
" the army; they have, they have; I would be  
" loth to say, who, where, and how, much more  
" loth to say, they were any of your own number,  
" but I can say, endeavours have been us'd to put  
" the army into a distemper, and to feed that  
" which is the worst humour in the army, which  
" tho' it was not a mastering humour, yet these  
" took their advantage from a delay of the settle-  
" ment, and the practices before mentioned, and  
" stopping to pay off the army, to run us into free  
" quarter, and to bring us into the inconveniences  
" most to be fear'd and avoided.

" WHAT if I am able to make it appear in  
" fact, that some amongst you have run into the  
" city of London to persuade to petitions and ad-  
" dressess to you for reversing your own votes that

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" you have passed ? Whether these practices were  
 " in favour of your liberties, or tended to beget  
 " hopes of peace and settlement from you ; and  
 " whether debauching the army in *England*, as is  
 " before expressed, and starving it, and putting it  
 " upon free quarter, and occasioning and neces-  
 " sitating the greatest part thereof in *Scotland* to  
 " march into *England*, leaving the remainder  
 " thereof to have their throats cut there, and  
 " kindling by the rest a fire in our own bosoms,  
 " were for the advantage of affairs here, let the  
 " world judge.

" This I tell you also, that the correspondence  
 " held with the interest of cavaliers, by that  
 " party of men, called *levellers*, and who call  
 " themselves *commonwealth's-men* ; whose declara-  
 " tions were framed to that purpose, and ready  
 " to be published at the time of their common  
 " rising, whereof we are possessed ; and for which  
 " we have the confession of themselves now in  
 " custody ; who confess also they built their hopes  
 " upon the assurance they had of the parliament's  
 " not agreeing to a settlement ; whether these  
 " humours have not nourished themselves under  
 " your boughs, is the subject of my present dis-  
 " course, and I think I say not amiss if I affirm  
 " it to be so.

" AND I must say it again, that that which  
 " hath been their advantage, thus to raise distur-  
 " bance, hath been by the loss of those golden  
 " opportunities, that God had put into your hands  
 " for settlement. Judge you whether these things  
 " were thus or no ; when you first sat down I am  
 " sure things were not thus ; there was very great  
 " peace and sedateness throughout these nations,  
 " and great expectations of a settlement, which I  
 " remembered to you at the beginning of my  
 " speech, and hoped that you would have entered  
 " upon your business as you found it.

" THERE

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“ THERE was a government in the possession  
“ of the people, I say a government in the pos-  
“ session of the people, for many months, it hath  
“ now been exercised near fifteen months; and if  
“ it were needful that I should tell you how it  
“ came into their possession, and how willingly  
“ they received it; how all law and justice were  
“ distributed from it, in every respect, as to life,  
“ liberty and estate; how it was owned by God,  
“ as being the dispensation of his providence af-  
“ ter twelve years war, and sealed and witnessed  
“ unto by the people; I should but repeat what I  
“ said in my last speech made unto you in this  
“ place, and therefore I forbear.

“ WHEN you were enter'd upon this govern-  
“ ment, raveling into it (you know I took no no-  
“ tice what you were doing) if you had gone  
“ upon that foot of account, to have made such  
“ good and wholesome provisions for the good of  
“ the people of these nations, for the settling of  
“ such matters in things of religion as would have  
“ upheld and given countenance to a *godly min-*  
“ *stry*, and yet would have given a just *liberty*  
“ to *godly men* of different judgments, men of the  
“ same faith with them that you call the *orthodox*  
“ *ministry* in *England*, as it is well known the *In-*  
“ *dependants* are, and many under the form of  
“ *Baptism*, who are *found* in the *Faith*, only may  
“ perhaps be different in judgment in some lesser  
“ matters, yet as true *Christians*, both looking  
“ at salvation *only by faith in the blood of Christ*,  
“ men professing the fear of God, having recourse  
“ to the name of God, *as to a strong tower*; I say,  
“ you might have had opportunity to have settled  
“ peace and quietness amongst all professing godli-  
“ ness, and might have been instrumental, if not  
“ to have healed the breaches, yet to have kept  
“ the godly of all judgments from running one  
“ upon another, and by keeping them from being  
“ over-

1654. " over-run by a common enemy, rendered them  
 " and these nations, both secure, happy, and  
 " well satisfied.

" ARE these things done? Or any thing to-  
 " wards them? Is there not yet upon the spirits  
 " of men a strange itch? Nothing will satisfy  
 " them, unless they can put their fingers upon  
 " their brethrens consciences, to pinch them there.  
 " To do this, was no part of the contest we had  
 " with the common adversary; for Religion was  
 " not the thing at the first contested for; but  
 " God brought it to that issue at last, and gave it  
 " in to us by way of Redundancy, and at last it  
 " proved to be that which was most dear to us;  
 " and wherein consisted this, more than in obtain-  
 " ing that liberty from the tyranny of the Bishops,  
 " to all species of Protestants, to worship God ac-  
 " cording to their own light and conscience? For  
 " want of which, many of our brethren forsook  
 " their native Countries, to seek their bread from  
 " strangers, and to live in howling Wildernesses;  
 " and for which also, many that remained here,  
 " were imprisoned, and otherwise abused, and made  
 " the scorn of the nation.

" THOSE that were found in the Faith, how  
 " proper was it for them to labour for liberty, for  
 " a just liberty, that men should not be trampled  
 " upon for their consciences? Had not they la-  
 " bour'd but lately under the weight of persecutions,  
 " and was it fit for them to sit heavy upon others?  
 " Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give  
 " it? What greater hypocrisy, than for those  
 " who were oppressed by the Bishops, to become  
 " the greatest oppressors themselves, so soon as  
 " their yoke was removed? I could wish that they,  
 " who call for liberty now also, had not too much  
 " of that spirit if the power were in their hands.  
 " As for profane persons, blasphemers, such as  
 " preach sedition, the contentious railers, evil speak-  
 " ers,

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“ ers, who seek by evil words to corrupt good manners, persons of loose conversations ; punishment from the civil magistrate ought to be meet with them ; because, if these pretend conscience, yet walking disorderly, and not according, but contrary to the Gospel and even to natural light, they are judged of all, and their sins being open, makes them subjects of the magistrate’s sword, who ought not to bear it in vain.

“ THE discipline of the army was such, that a man would not be suffered to remain there, of whom we could take notice he was guilty of such practices as these : And therefore how happy would England have been, and you, and I, if the Lord had led you on to have settled upon such good accounts as these are, and to have discountenanced such practices as the other, and left men in disputable things free to their own consciences, which was well provided for by the government, and liberty left to provide against what was apparently evil ?

“ JUDGE you, whether the contesting for things that were provided for by this government hath been profitable expence of time for the good of these nations ? By means whereof, you may see you have wholly elapsed your time, and done just nothing.

“ I will say this to you in behalf of the long parliament, that had such an expedient as this government been proposed to them, and that they could have seen the cause of God thus provided for, and had by debates been enlightened in the grounds by which the difficulties might have been cleared, and the reason of the whole informed, the circumstances of time and persons, with the temper and disposition of the people, and affairs both abroad and at home, when it was undertaken, well weighed (as well

1654. " as they were thought to love their seats) I  
 " think in my conscience that they would have  
 " proceeded in another manner than you have  
 " done, and not have exposed things to those  
 " difficulties and hazards they now are at, nor  
 " given occasion to leave the people so dissettled as  
 " now they are, who, I dare say, in the soberest,  
 " and most judicious part of them, did expect,  
 " not a questioning, but a doing things in pursu-  
 " ance of the government; and, if I be not mis-  
 " informed, very many of you came up with this  
 " satisfaction, having had time enough to weigh  
 " and consider the same.

" AND when I say, such an expedient as this  
 " government is, wherein I dare assert there is a  
 " just liberty to the people of God, and the just  
 " rights of the people in these nations provided  
 " for, I can put the issue thereof upon the clearest  
 " reason, whatsoever any go about to suggest to  
 " the contrary.

" BUT this not being the time and place of  
 " such an averment, for satisfaction sake herein,  
 " enough is said in a book, entituled, *A true state*  
 " *of the case of the common-wealth, &c.* published  
 " in January 1653. (And for myself, I desire not  
 " to keep it an hour longer than I may preserve  
 " England in its just rights, and may protect the  
 " people of God in such a just liberty of their con-  
 " sciences, as I have already mentioned.) And  
 " therefore if this parliament have judged things  
 " to be otherwise than as I have stated them, it had  
 " been huge friendliness between persons that had  
 " such a Reciprocation, and in so great concern-  
 " ments to the publick, for them to have convinced  
 " me in what particulars therein my error lay, of  
 " which I never yet had a word from you. But  
 " if instead thereof, your time has been spent in  
 " setting up somewhat else upon another bottom  
 " than this stands, that looks as if a laying grounds

" of

" of a quarrel had rather been designed, than to 1654.  
" give the people settlement ; if it be thus, it is  
" well your labours have not arrived to any ma-  
" turity at all.

" THIS government called you hither, the con-  
" stitution whereof being so limited, *a single per-*  
" *son and a parliament*, and this was thought most  
" agreeable to the general sense of the nation,  
" having had experience enough by trial of other  
" conclusions, judging this most likely to avoid  
" the extremes of *Monarchy* on the one hand,  
" and *Democracy* on the other, and yet not to  
" found *dominium in gratia*. And if so, then cer-  
" tainly to make it more than a notion, it was  
" requisite that it should be as it is in the govern-  
" ment, which puts it upon a true and equal *bal-*  
" *lance*. It has been already submitted to the ju-  
" dicious honest people of this nation, whether  
" the *ballance* be not equal, and what their judg-  
" ment is, is visible by *submission* to it, by *acting*  
" upon it, by *restraining* their *trustees* from med-  
" dling with it ; and it neither asks nor needs  
" any better ratification. But when *trustees* in  
" *parliament* shall by *experience* find any evil in  
" any parts of the *government*, referred by the  
" *government* itself to the consideration of the Pro-  
" tector and Parliament (of which time itself will  
" be the best discoverer) how can it be reasonably  
" imagin'd, that a person or persons coming in  
" by *election*, and standing under such *obligations*,  
" and so *limited*, and so necessitated by *oath* to go-  
" vern, for the people's good, and to make their  
" love, under God, the best under-propping, and  
" his best interest to him ; how can it, I say, be  
" imagin'd that the present or succeeding Pro-  
" tectors will refuse to agree to alter any such  
" thing in the *government* that may be found to  
" be for the good of the people, or to recede from  
" any thing which he might be convinced casts the

" *bal-*

1654. " *ballance* too much to the single person ? And  
 " although for the present, the keeping up, and  
 " having in his power the *militia*, seems the most  
 " hard, yet if it should be yielded up at such a  
 " time as this, when there is as much need to keep  
 " this cause by it (which is most evidently at  
 " this time impugned by all the enemies of it) as  
 " there was to get it, what would become of all ?  
 " Or if it should not be equally placed in him  
 " and the *parliament*, but yielded up at any time,  
 " it determines his power, either for doing the  
 " good he ought, or hindering *parliaments* from  
 " perpetuating themselves, or from imposing what  
 " *religions* they please on the consciences of men,  
 " or what government they please upon the nation,  
 " thereby subjecting us to *dissent* in every  
 " *parliament*, and to the desperate consequences  
 " thereof ; and if the nation shall happen to fall  
 " into a blessed peace, how easily and certainly  
 " will their charge be taken off, and their forces  
 " be disbanded, and then where will the danger  
 " be to have the *militia* thus stated ?

" **W H A T** if I should say, if there should be a  
 " disproportion or disequality as to the power, it  
 " is on the other hand ? And if this be so, wherein  
 " have you had cause to quarrel ? What de-  
 " monstrations have you held forth to settle me  
 " to your opinion ? Would you had made me so  
 " happy as to let me have known your *grounds*.  
 " I have made a free and ingenuous confession of  
 " my faith to you, and could have wished it had  
 " been in your hearts to have agreed that some  
 " friendly and cordial debates might have been  
 " towards mutual conviction ; was there none  
 " amongst you to move such a thing ? No fitness  
 " to listen to it ? No desire of a right understand-  
 " ing ? If it be not folly in me to listen to town-  
 " talk, such things have been proposed, and re-  
 " jected with stiffness and severity, once and  
 " again ;

1654.

" again ; was it not likely to have been more ad-  
" vantagious to the good of this nation ? I will  
" say this to you for myself, and to that I have  
" my *conscience* as a thousand witnesses, and I have  
" my comfort and contentment in it, and I have  
" the witness of divers here, that I think truly  
" scorn to own me in a lye, that I would not have  
" been averse to any alteration, of the good of  
" which I might have been convinced, although I  
" could not have agreed to the taking it off the  
" foundation on which it stands, *viz.* *The accepta-*  
" *tion and consent of the people.*

" I will not presage what you have been about,  
" or doing in all this time, nor do I love to make  
" conjectures ; but I must tell you this, that as I  
" undertook this *government* in the simplicity of  
" my heart, and as before God, and to do the  
" part of an honest man, and to be true to the  
" interest which in my *conscience* is dear to many  
" of you (though it is not always understood what  
" God in his wisdom may hide from us, as to  
" peace and settlement) so I can say that no par-  
" ticular interest, either of my *self, estate, honour,*  
" or *family*, are, or have been prevalent with me to  
" this undertaking.

" FOR if you had upon the old government  
" offer'd to me this one thing ; I speak, as thus  
" advised, and before God, as having been to  
" this day of this opinion, and this hath been my  
" constant *judgment*, well known to many that  
" hear me speak ; if this one thing had been in-  
" serted, that one thing, that this *government*  
" should have been, and placed in my family  
" *hereditary*, I would have rejected it, \* and I  
" could have done no other, according to my

\* Ludlow observes here, that in this he flattered the ambi-  
tion of major-general Lambert, and kept him in expectation  
of succeeding him, and so secured his assistance in carrying on  
his designs.

" present

1654. " present conscience and light. I will tell you my reason, though I cannot tell what God will do with me, nor you, nor the nation, for throw ing away precious opportunities committed to us.

" THIS hath been my principle, and I liked it when this government came first to be proposed to me, that it put us off that hereditary way, well looking, that as God had declared what government he had delivered to the Jews, and placed it upon such persons as had been instrumental for the conduct and deliverance of his people; and considering that promise in *Isaiah*, that God would give rulers as at the first, and judges as at the beginning; I did not know, but that God might begin, and though at present with a most unworthy person, yet as to the future, it might be after this manner, and I thought this might usher it in. I am speaking as to my judgment against making it hereditary, to have men chosen for their love to God, and to truth and justice, and not to have it hereditary; for as it is in *Ecclesiastes*, Who know eth whether he may beget a fool or wise, honest or not? Whatever they be must come in upon that account, because the government is made a patrimony.

" AND this I do perhaps declare with too much earnestness, as being my own concernment, and know not what place it may have in your bears, and of the good people in the nation; but however it be, I have comfort in this my truth and plainness.

" I HAVE thus told you my thoughts, which truly I have declared to you in the fear of God, as knowing he will not be mocked, and in the strength of God, as knowing and rejoicing that I am kept in my speaking, especially, when I do not form or frame things without the com-

" pass

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" pass of integrity and honesty, that my own conscience gives me not the lye to what I say, and then in what I say I can rejoice.

" Now to speak a word or two to you, of that I must profess in the name of the same Lord, and wish that there had been no cause that I should have thus spoken to you, and though I have told you, that I came with joy the first time, with some regret the second, that now I speak with most regret of all.

" I LOOK upon you, as having among you many persons, that I could lay down my life individually for; I could, through the grace of God, desire to lay down my life for you: So far am I from having an unkind or unchristian heart towards you, in your particular capacities.

" I HAVE indeed, as a work most incumbent upon me, consulted what might be my duty in such a day as this, casting up all considerations: I must confess, as I told you, that I did think occasionally this nation hath suffered extremely in the respects mentioned, as also in the disappointments of their expectations of that justice that was due to them by your sitting thus long; and what have you brought forth?

" I DID not, nor cannot apprehend what it is, (I would be loth to call it a fate, that were too paganish a word) but there is something in it, that we have not our expectations.

" I DID think also for my self, that I am like to meet with difficulties, and that this nation will not (as it is fit it should not) be deluded with pretexts of necessity in that great business of raising of money; and were it not that I can make some dilemma's upon which to resolve some things of my conscience, judgment, and actions, I should sink at the very prospect of my encounters; some of them are general, some are more special, supposing this cause, or this busi-

1654. "ness must be carried on : Either it is of God, or  
 "of man ; if it be of man, I would I had never  
 "touched it with a finger ; if I had not had a  
 "hope fixed in me, that this cause, and this hu-  
 "maness is of God, I would many years ago have  
 "run from it. If it be of God, he will bear it up.  
 "If it be of man, it will tumble, as every thing  
 "that hath been of man, since the world began,  
 "hath done. And what are all our histories and  
 "other traditions of actions in former times, but  
 "God manifesting himself that he hath shaken and  
 "tumbled down, and trampled upon, every thing  
 "that he hath not planted ? And as this is, so the  
 "all-wise God deal with it.

" IF this be of human structure and invention,  
 "and it be an old plotting and contrivance to bring  
 "things to this issue, and they are not the births of  
 "providence, then they will tumble. But if the  
 "Lord take pleasure in England, and if he will do  
 "us good, he is able to bear us up ; let the difficulties  
 "be whatsoever they will, we shall in his strength  
 "be able to encounter with them. And I bless God  
 "I have been inured to difficulties, and I never  
 "found God failing when I trusted in him ; I can  
 "laugh and sing in my heart when I speak of these  
 "things to you, or elsewhere. And though some  
 "may think it is an hard thing without parlia-  
 "mentary authority to raise money upon this nation ; yet  
 "I have another argument to the good people of  
 "this nation, if they would be safe, and have no  
 "better principle ; whether they prefer the having  
 "of their will, tho' it be their destruction, rather  
 "than comply with things of necessity ; that will  
 "excuse me ; but I should wrong my native coun-  
 "try to suppose this.

" FOR I look at the people of these nations, as  
 "the blessing of the Lord, and they are a people  
 "blessed by God. They have been so, and they  
 "will be so, by reason of that immortal seed, which  
 "hath

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“ hath been, and is among them, those regenerated ones in the land, of several judgments, who are all the flock of Christ and lambs of Christ; tho’ perhaps under many unruly passions, and troubles of spirits; whereby they give disquiet to themselves and others; yet they are not so to God; as to us; he is a God of other patience; and he will own the least of truth in the hearts of his people; and the people being the blessing of God, they will not be so angry, but they will prefer their safety to their passions, and their real security to forms; when necessity calls for supplies; had they not been well acquainted with this principle, they had never seen this day of gospel-liberty.

“ But if any man shall object, It is an easy thing to talk of necessities; when men create necessities; would not the Lord Protector make himself great, and his Family great? doth not he make these necessities? and then he will come upon the people with this argument of necessity.

“ This were something hard indeed, but I have not yet known what it is to make necessities, whatsoever the judgments or thoughts of men are. And I say this, not only to this assembly, but to the world, that that man liveth not, that can come to me, and charge me that I have in these great revolutions made necessities: I challenge even all that fear God; and as God hath said, *My glory I will not give unto another;* let men take heed, and be twice advis’d, how they call his revolutions, the things of God, and his working of things from one period to another, how, I say, they call them necessities of mens creation; for by so doing, they do vilify and lessen the works of God, and rob him of his glory, which he hath said, *he will not give unto another, nor suffer to be taken from him.*

1654. " We know what God did to *Herod* when he was applauded, and did not acknowledge God ; and God knoweth what he will do with men, when they shall call his revolutions human designs, and so detract from his glory, when they have not been forecast, but sudden providences in things, whereby carnal and worldly men are enraged, and under, and at which many, (I fear, some good) have murmured and repined, because disappointed of their mistaken fancies; but still they have been the wise disposings of the Almighty, though instruments have had their passions and frailties ; and I think it is an honour to God to acknowledge the necessities to have been of God's imposing, when truly they have been so, as indeed they have, when we take our sin in our actings to our selves ; and much more safe, than to judge things so contingent, as if there were not a God that ruled upon earth.

" WE know the Lord hath poured this nation from vessel to vessel, till he poured it into your lap, when you came first together: I am confident, that it came so into your hands, was not judged by you to be from counterfeited or feign'd necessity, but by divine providence and dispensation. And this I speak with more earnestness, because I speak for God, and not for men ; I would have any man to come and tell of the transactions that have been, and of those periods of time, wherein God hath made these revolutions, and find where they can fix a feigned necessity.

" I COULD recite particulars, if either my strength would serve me to speak, or yours to hear ; if that you would revolve the great hand of God in his great dispensations, you would find that there is scarce a man that fell off at any period of time when God had any work to do,

" that

“ that can give God or his work, at this day, a  
“ good word.

“ It was, say some, the cunning of the Lord  
“ Protector (I take it to my self) it was the craft  
“ of such a man, and his plot, that hath brought  
“ it about. And as they say in other countries,  
“ there are five or six cunning men in *England* that  
“ have *skill*, they do all these things: Oh what  
“ blasphemy is this! because men *that are without*  
“ *God in the world*, and walk not with him, and  
“ know not what it is to *pray*, or *believe*, and to  
“ receive returns from God, and to be *spoken unto*  
“ by the spirit of God, who *speaks* without a writ-  
“ ten word sometimes, yet according to it: God  
“ hath spoken heretofore in *divers manners*, let  
“ him speak as he pleaseth. Hath he not given  
“ us *liberty*? Nay, is it not our duty to go to the  
“ *law and to the testimonies*, and there we shall find  
“ that there have been impressions in extraordi-  
“ nary cases, as well without the written word as  
“ with it; and therefore there is no difference in  
“ the thing thus asserted from truths generally re-  
“ ceiv'd, except we will exclude the *Spirit*, with-  
“ out whose concurrence all other teachings are  
“ *ineffectual*. He doth speak to the hearts and  
“ consciences of men, and leadeth them to his  
“ law and testimonies, and there he speaks to them,  
“ and so gives them double teachings, according  
“ to that of *Job*, *God speaketh once, yea twice*; and  
“ that of *David*, *God bath spoken once, yea twice*  
“ *bave I heard this*. Those men that live upon  
“ their *Mumpsimus* and *Sumpsimus*, their *Masses*  
“ and *Service-books*, their dead and carnal worship,  
“ no marvel if they be *strangers* to God, and the  
“ *works* of God, and to *spiritual dispensations*. And  
“ because they say and believe thus, must we do  
“ so too? We in this *land* have been otherwise in-  
“ structed, even by the *word*, and *works*, and *Spiritt*  
“ of God.

## The LIFE of

" To say that men bring forth these things, when  
 " God doth them, judge you if God will bear this.  
 " I wish that every sober heart, tho' he hath had  
 " temptations upon him of deserting this cause of  
 " God, yet may take heed how he provokes, and  
 " falls into the hands of the living God, by such blas-  
 " phemies as these, according to the 10th of the  
 " Hebrews, If we sin wilfully after that we have re-  
 " ceived the knowledge of the truth, there remains no  
 " more sacrifice for sin (It was spoken to the Jews,  
 " that having professed Christ apostatized from  
 " him) what then? nothing but a fearful falling  
 " into the hands of the living God.

" THEY that shall attribute to this or that per-  
 " son the contrivances and production of those  
 " mighty things God hath wrought in the midst  
 " of us, and that they have not been the revolu-  
 " tions of Christ himself, upon whose shoulders the  
 " government is laid, they speak against God, and  
 " they fall under his hand without a Mediator;  
 " that is, if we deny the Spirit of Jesus Christ the  
 " glory of all his works in the world, by which  
 " he rules kingdoms, and doth administer, and is  
 " the rod of his strength, we provoke the Media-  
 " tor; and he may say, I'll leave you to God, I'll  
 " not intercede for you, let him tear you to pieces;  
 " I'll leave thee to fall into God's hands, thou de-  
 " nies me my sovereignty and power committed  
 " to me; I'll not intercede nor mediate for thee,  
 " thou fallest into the hands of the living God.  
 " Therefore whatsoever you may judge men for,  
 " and say, this man is cunning, and politick, and  
 " subtil, take heed, again I say, how you judge  
 " of his revolutions, as the products of mens inven-  
 " tions.

" I MAY be thought to press too much upon this  
 " theme, but I pray God it may stick upon your  
 " hearts and mine. The worldly minded man knows  
 " nothing of this, but is a stranger to it; and be-  
 " cause

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“ cause of this is his *atheism* and *murmuring* at instruments, yea, repining at God himself; and no wonder, considering the Lord hath done such things amongst us as have not been known in the world these thousand years, and yet notwithstanding is not owned by us.

“ THERE is another *necessity* which you have put upon us, and we have not sought; I appeal to God, angels, and men, if I shall raise money according to the article in the government, which had power to call you hither, and did, and instead of seasonable providing for the army, you have laboured to overthrow the government, and the army is now upon *free quarter*, and you would never so much as let me hear a tittle from you concerning it; where is the fault? Has it not been as if you had had a purpose to put this extremity upon us and the nation? I hope this was not in your minds, I am not willing to judge so; but this is the state unto which we are reduced: By the *designs* of some in the army, who are now in *custody*, it was *design'd* to get as many of them as they could, through discontent for want of money, the army being in a barren country, near thirty weeks behind in pay, and upon other specious pretences, to march for *England* out of *Scotland*, and in discontent to seize their general there, a faithful and honest man, that so another might head the army; and all this opportunity taken from your delays; whether will this be a thing of feigned *necessity*? What could it signify but that the army are in *discontent* already, and we'll make them live upon *stones*, we'll make them cast off their governors and discipline? What can be said to this? I list not to unsaddle my self, and put the fault upon others Backs; whether it hath been for the good of *England*, whilst men have been talking of this thing or the other, and pretending *liberty*, and

1654.

“ a many good words, whether it hath been as it  
 “ should have been? I am confident you cannot  
 “ think it has, the nation will not think so. And  
 “ if the worſt should be made of things, I know  
 “ not what the *Corniſh-men*, or the *Lincolnſhire-men*  
 “ may think, or other counties, but I believe they  
 “ will all think they are not ſafe. A temporary  
 “ ſuspension of caring for the greatest *liberties* and  
 “ privileges (if it were ſo, which is denied) would  
 “ not have been of that damage, that the not pro-  
 “ viding againſt *free quarter* hath run the nation  
 “ upon. And if it be my *liberty* to walk abroad  
 “ in the *fields*, or to take a *journey*, yet it is not  
 “ my *wiſdom* to do ſo when my *houſe is on fire*.

“ I HAVE troubled you with a long *ſpeech*, and  
 “ I believe it may not have the ſame reſentment  
 “ with all that it hath with ſome; but because  
 “ this is unknown to me, I shall leave it to God,  
 “ and conclude with that, that I think my ſelf  
 “ bound in my duty to God, and the people of  
 “ these nations, to their *safety* and *good* in every  
 “ reſpect; I think it my duty to tell you, that it  
 “ is not for the *profit* of these nations, nor for *com-*  
 “ *mon* and *publick good*, for you to continue here  
 “ any longer; and therefore I do declare unto  
 “ you, *That I do diſſolve this parliament.*”

## C H A P. V.

*From the diſſolution of his ſecond PARLIA-  
 MENT, to the meeting of his third PAR-  
 LIAMENT.*

**T**HUS the Protector in great diſpleaſure, and  
 in this upbraiding manner, parted with his  
 ſecond parliament; which as it increas'd the indig-  
 nation of the Republicans, ſo it gave great encou-  
 ragement to the Royalists, to go on with the de-

ſigns

signs they had now on foot ; so that both parties, 1654.  
for King and Common-wealth, were in rage, and  
plots, and arms against him, though by Oliver's  
good policy and extraordinary intelligence, their  
designs were crush'd before they could bring them  
to any maturity. Major *John Wildman*, a noted *Wild-*  
*commonwealth's-man*, whom the Protector had <sup>man's de-</sup>  
expell'd the house at the first opening of the session,  
was seiz'd with a paper dictated by him, intitled,  
*The declaration of the free and well-affected people of*  
*England, now in arms against the tyrant Oliver*  
*Cromwell, Esq;* and beginning thus : " Being sa-  
" tisfy'd in our judgment and consciences of the  
" present necessity to take up arms for the defence  
" of our native rights and freedoms, which are  
" wholly invaded and swallowed up in the pride  
" and ambition of *Oliver Cromwell*, who calls him-  
" self Lord Protector of *England*, who hath ren-  
" der'd all *Englishmen* no better than his vassals,  
" &c." But this man, contrary to the expectation  
of all his friends, who thought of nothing but his  
death, was after a short imprisonment discharged  
and set at full liberty. The Protector at the same  
time us'd all imaginable arts to secure himself, and  
prevent a universal odium : He pay'd the fleet and  
army well, and discharg'd all officers whose fide-  
lity he suspected ; carried it very fair with the city  
of *London*, giving them the power of their own  
militia, under their old leader major-general *Skip-*  
*pon*, treating them and accepting of treats from  
them ; eas'd the common people of some customa-  
ry burdens, and some part of their taxes ; and us'd  
an indefatigable diligence and unbounded expence  
in procuring intelligence, and early crushing all  
designs against him. So that though his mother  
(who dy'd this year, and was buried with extraor-  
dinary pomp and solemnity) was in continual fear  
of her son's life, and when she heard any gun go  
off, would cry out that *her son was shot*, and could  
not

1654. not be easy without seeing him safe once or twice a day ; and though a thousand of his enemies did really believe, that killing him would be no *murder*, yet he had the good fortune to escape all dangers.

Several risings for the King.

THE Cavalier plot was still on foot, which the Protector had a jealousy was countenanc'd by the parliament ; and he gave out that to be a cause of his dissolving them. The project was, to have several parties rise together in several parts of the nation, about the beginning of *March* ; and though upon the private intelligence the Protector had receiv'd, several persons were apprehended, and many arms seiz'd, yet it was still resolved to attempt something. To this end, a cart-load of arms was brought to the place of rendezvous for the northern parts, where 'twas reported the conspirators were to be headed by *Wilmet Earl of Rochester*. But being somewhat alarm'd at their first meeting, and apprehensive of the regular forces falling upon them before they were sufficiently prepar'd, they dispers'd themselves, leaving their arms behind them. The design was not so soon over in the west, where Sir *Joseph Wagstaff*, colonel *Penruddock*, captain *Hugh Grove*, Mr. *Jones*, and other persons of condition, enter'd *Salisbury* with a body of two hundred horse well arm'd, expecting there to have their numbers daily augmented. It was the time of the assizes, and they came thither about five o' clock in the morning ; where, having proclaim'd the King, they seiz'd the judges, *Rolls* and *Nicolas*, and took away their commissions. They also seiz'd the sheriff ; and *Wagstaff* was for hanging all three of them ; but others not agreeing to it, they were at last set at liberty. Their forces not at all answering their first expectations, they retired to *Dog-town*, and from thence march'd as far as *Blandford* in *Dorsetshire*, where most men look'd upon them as flying, several of their own party

party stealing from them as fast as others came to them ; and those who continued with them, did so rather to secure themselves and obtain better conditions, than from any expectation of success in their undertaking. Captain Unton Crook, having intelligence of their motions, pursu'd them into *Devonshire*, and at *South-Molton* fell upon them and totally defeated them : Most of them were taken prisoners, and amongst them *Penruddock*, *Grove*, and *Jones*; *Wagstaff*, *Mason*, and *Mompesson* narrowly escaping. *Penruddock* and *Grove* were beheaded at *Exeter*, and others were hang'd in that city ; some of them were sent to *Salisbury*, the place where they had so lately triumph'd, and there try'd and executed ; and many were transported to the *West-Indies*. Thus these insurrections, which at first seem'd to threaten the whole kingdom, expir'd for the present, and the Protector was secur'd without the help of his army.

*They are  
suppres'd.*

This plot, which was laid to ruin the Protector, prov'd in the issue of great advantage to him, advanc'd his credit, and serv'd to confirm his authority the more. It clear'd him of the reproach of inventing plots himself for an excuse and pretence to continue such numerous forces in pay ; and that little success the King's party met with, was judg'd a good proof that there was not yet sufficient force for the safety and quiet of the kingdom. From hence he took occasion, with the advice of his council, to make an order, " That all " who had borne arms for the King, or had de- " clar'd themselves to be of his party, should be " decimated, or pay a tenth part of their estates, " to support the charge of such extraordinary forces, " as their turbulent and seditious practices oblig'd " him to keep up ; " the Protector declaring, *That the charge should be laid upon those who had occasion'd it, and not upon the honest party, who had already been so much sufferers.* Commissioners were appointed

*The Roy-  
alists de-  
cimated.*

1654. appointed in every county for this purpose ; and by this means incredible sums of money were brought into the Protector's coffers. He likewise committed to prison many of those whom he suspected, as the Earl of Oxford, the Lords Willoughby of Parham, Newport, and Compton ; Littleton, Peyton, Packington, Ashburnham, Russel, Legg, Philips, Kelsey, and several others. He had also a very watchful eye over the Republicans, and Fifth-monarchy men, and gave Monk orders to seize major-general Overton, major Bramstone, Holms, and other officers. Overton was sent up to London and committed to the Tower, and his regiment given to colonel Morgan, colonel Okey's to the lord Howard, and cornet Joyce, now colonel, was likewise cashier'd. And finally, to provide for all inconveniences, as well amongst the people as in the army, he divided England, as 'twere, into so many cantons, over each of which he placed one called by the name of major-general ; which major-generals were in the nature of prefects or governors of provinces. These men were to have the inspection and government of the inferior commissioners in every county, to commit to prison all such persons as they suspected, to levy all moneys which were order'd by his Highness and his council to be collected for the publick, to sequester all who did not pay their decimation, and to put in execution such farther directions as they should receive ; and there was no appeal from any of their acts, but to the Protector himself. Their names and several divisions were as follow : Colonel Kelsey was major-general for Kent and Surry ; colonel Goffe for Sussex, Hampshire, and Berkshire ; colonel Desborough for Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall ; lieutenant-general Fleetwood for Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk ; major-general Skippon for the city of London ; commissary-

The Pro-  
tector ap-  
points  
major-ge-  
nerals.

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military-general Whaley for Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Warwickshire, and Leicestershire; major Butler for Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Rutland, and Huntingdonshire; colonel Berry for Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, and North-Wales; colonel Whortley for Cheshire, Lancashire, and Staffordshire; major-general Lambert for Yorkshire, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Northumberland; and colonel Barkstead for the city of Westminster, and Middlesex.

THESE major-generals carry'd things with a very high hand, decimating whom they pleas'd, interrupting the proceedings at law, upon petitions of those who thought themselves aggrev'd, and threatening such as would not readily submit to their orders with transportation to the *West-Indies*.

A certain farmer in Berkshire, being requir'd to pay his tenth, ask'd the commissioners, in case he did so, *What security he should have for the other nine parts*; and it being answer'd, *That he should have the Protector's order and theirs for the enjoyment of the rest*; he reply'd, *That he had already an act of parliament for the whole, which he could not but think to be as good security as they could give*: But, said he, if Goodman such-a-one and such-a-one (naming two of his neighbours) will give me their bond for it, *I know what to say to such a proposal*; for if they break their agreement, *I know where to right myself*; but these sword-men are too strong for me.

*Story of a  
farmer of  
Berkshire.*

ABOUT this time also, the Protector having laid some extraordinary tax upon the city, one Cony, who had formerly serv'd him in bringing about his designs, positively refused to pay his share, and to vehemently dissuaded others from complying with it: Hereupon the Protector sent for him, and put him in mind of the old friendship that had been between them, telling him, *That of all men he did not expect this opposition from him, in a matter that was so necessary for the good of the commonwealth*.

Cony

*Of one  
Cony, who  
refus'd to  
pay taxes  
well.*

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Cony in return remembred him, how great an enemy he had express'd himself to such grievances, and how he had declared; *That all who submitted to pay illegal taxes, were greater enemies to their country than they who imposed them ; and that the tyranny of princes could never be grievous, but by the tameness and stupidity of the people.* When the Protector saw he could not bring him over, he told him, *That he had a will as stubborn as his ; and he would try which of them two should be master ;* and thereupon committed him to prison. As soon as the term came on, the prisoner brought his *Habeas Corpus* in the King's Bench, then called the Upper-Bench. *Maynard, Twisden, and Windham* being of counsel for him, demanded his liberty, both upon the illegality of the commitment, and of the imposition. The judges could not defend either, and it appear'd plainly what their sentence would be ; so that the Protector's attorney requir'd a farther day to answer what had been urg'd. But before that time, the three who were his counsel were committed to the Tower ; and the judges were sent for and severely reprimanded, for suffering the liberty they had taken : And when they humbly alledg'd the law and *Magna Charta*, the Protector told them, *Their Magna F——a should not controlle his actions, which he knew were for the safety of the commonwealth ;* and ask'd them, *Who made them judges ? And whether they had any authority to set there but what he gave them ;* and therefore he advised them to be more tender of that which only could preserve them, and sent them away with this caution, *That they should not suffer the lawyers to prate, what it would not become them to hear.*

Of Sir Peter Wentworth.

At another time, Sir Peter Wentworth, a member of the long parliament, caus'd a collector in the country to be prosecuted at his suit, though he could scarce procure any attorney to appear, or counsel to plead for him. The Protector being inform'd

form'd of this prosecution, sent a messenger to bring Sir Peter before the council ; where being ask'd the reason of this proceeding, he told them, *That he was mov'd to it by his constant principle, That by the law of England no money ought to be levy'd upon the people, without their consent in parliament.* The Protector then ask'd him, *Whether he would withdraw his action or no ;* to which he reply'd, *If you will command me, I must submit :* Cromwell therefore commanding it, he accordingly withdrew his action ; and so this matter ended.

BUT though the Protector proceeded in this arbitrary manner against those who contested his authority ; yet in all other cases, where the life of his jurisdiction was not concern'd, he seem'd to have a great reverence for the law, and the constitution, rarely interposing between party and party ; and to do him justice, there appear'd in his government many things that were truly great and praise-worthy. Justice, as well distributive as commutative, was by him restor'd almost to its ancient grace and splendor, the judges executing their office without covetousness, according to law and equity, and the laws, except some few where himself was immediately concern'd, being permitted to have their full force upon all, without impediment or delay. Mens manners, outwardly at least, became likewise reform'd, either by removing the incentives to luxury, or by means of the ancient laws now reviv'd, and put in execution. There was a strict discipline kept in his court, where drunkenness, whoredom, and extortion were either banish'd, or severely rebuk'd. Trade began again to flourish and prosper, and most things to put on a happy and promising aspect. The Protector also shew'd a great regard to the advancement of learning, and was a great encourager of it. The university of Oxford, in particular, acknowledg'd his Highness's respect to them, in continuing their Chancellor,

1655. chancellor, and bestowing on the publick library there four and twenty Greek manuscripts, and munificently allowing an hundred pounds a year to a divinity reader. He also order'd a scheme to be drawn for founding and endowing a college at *Durham*, for the convenience of the northern students.

His design  
of re-ad-  
mitting  
the Jews.

ABOUT this time, a design was form'd by the Protector, of settling the *Jews* again in this nation ; and *Manasseb Ben-Israel*, a great Rabbi, came over and made his stated proposals, and had a conference upon them, for re-admitting that people to exercise trade and worship in *England*. The Protector, on this occasion, sent for divers ministers of the gospel, and laid those proposals before them ; and at the same time with great earnestness declar'd his opinion, " That since there was a promise that they should be converted, means ought to be us'd to that end ; and the most likely way was, the preaching of the gospel in truth and sincerity, as it was then in *England*, devoid of all popish idolatry, which had render'd the christian religion odious to them." But the design was so violently opposed that this treaty came to nothing. 'Tis said the Protector had the promise of 200,000*l.* from the *Jews*, in case he procured this toleration for them ; which made him so earnest to bring it about : But Bishop *Burnet* informs us, that he enter'd into this treaty with them for the sake of intelligence. His words are these : " When he understood what dealers the *Jews* were every where in that trade that depends on news, the advancing money upon high or low interest in proportion to the risque they run, or the gain to be made as the times might turn, and in the buying and felling of the actions of money so advanc'd, he, more upon that account, than in compliance with the principle of toleration, brought a company of them over

“ over to *England*, and gave them leave to build a synagogue. All the while that he was negotiating this, they were sure and good spies for him, especially with relation to *Spain* and *Portugal*.”

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UPON this the Bishop tells this story, which he had from the Lord *Brogbill*, then Earl of *Orrery*: on this occasion. That as that Earl was once walking with *Cromwell* in one of the galleries of *Whitehall*, a man almost in rags appear'd in view; upon which he immediately dismiss'd the Earl, and took that person with him into his closet; who told him of a great sum of money, that the *Spaniards* were sending over in a *Dutch* man of war, to pay their army in *Flanders*; and also whereabouts in the ship the said money was reposed. The Protector then immediately sent an express to *Smith* (afterwards Sir *Jeremy Smith*) who lay in the *Downs*, informing him, “ That within a day or two such a *Dutch* ship would pass the *Channel*, which he must search for the *Spanish* money, which was contraband goods; ” his Highness being then at war with *Spain*. Accordingly, when the ship pass'd by *Dover*, *Smith* sent and demanded leave to search him. The *Dutch* captain return'd him this answer, *That none but his masters might search him*: Upon which, *Smith* sent him word again, *That he had set up an hour-glass, and if he did not submit to the search before it was run out, he would force him*. The captain seeing it was in vain to struggle, submitted in time, and so all the money was found. And the next time his Highness saw the Lord *Orrery*, he told him, he had his intelligence from that seemingly forlorn man he saw him go to some days before.

THE lords commissioners of the great seal, were He makes Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, *Whitelock*, and *Lisle*; and a change William *Lenthal*, Esq; was master of the Rolls. in his ministry. *Widdrington*, *Whitelock*, and *Lenthal* made their exceptions against executing an ordinance of the

1655. Lord Protector and his council, *For the better regulating and limiting the jurisdiction of the high court of Chancery*: Upon which his Highness, not enduring his authority nor his acts should be disputed, sent for them to the council-chamber, and there requir'd them to lay down the seal and withdraw. He kept it a few days in his own hands, and then gave it to major *Liffe*, one of the former commissioners, and colonel *Fiennes*. And that *Widdrington* and *Whitelock*, the ejected commissioners, might not be too much disgusted, his Highness appointed them commissioners of the treasury; and he continued *Lenthal* in his favour for past services.

Appoints a committee of trade.

ABOUT this time the Lord Protector and his council appointed a committee of trade, to consider how to improve, order and regulate the trade and navigation of the commonwealth. This was an affair of great importance to the nation, and his Highness was very earnest and intent upon it.

As the Protector's power was very great at home, so his influence was no less considerable abroad. About this time an Ambassador Extraordinary from *Sweden* came over in great pomp and state, and with much ceremony and solemnity had his audience of his Highness in the *Banqueting-house* at *White-ball*. The Ambassador spake in the *Swedish* language, and his secretary interpreted what he said in *Latin*. When he had done, the Lord Protector stood still for some time, and then putting off his hat to the Ambassador, with a carriage full of gravity and state, he answer'd him in *English* as follows :

His answer to the Swedish ambassador.

" My Lord Ambassador, I have great reason to acknowledge, with thankfulness, the respects and good affection of the King your master towards this common-wealth, and towards myself in particular; whereof I shall always retain a very grateful memory, and shall be ready upon all occasions to manifest the high sense and value I have of his Majesty's friendship and alliance.

" My

“ My Lord, you are very welcome into *England*; and during your abode here, you shall find all due regard and respect to be given to your person, and to the business about which you come. I am very willing to enter into a nearer and more strict alliance and friendship with the King of *Swedeland*, as that which in my judgment will tend much to the honour and commodity of both nations, and to the general advantage of the Protestant interest. I shall nominate some persons, to meet and treat with your Lordship upon such particulars as you shall communicate to them.”

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*CHRISTINA*, Queen of *Sweden*, having ab-<sup>a visit</sup> He refuses dicated her kingdom upon changing her religion <sup>from Chri-</sup> and turning Papist, resolv'd to go to *Rome*, and to <sup>stina, Q.</sup> see as much as she could in her way thither; and <sup>of Swe-</sup> the renown of *Cromwell* made her very desirous to <sup>den.</sup> see him. Accordingly she sent her secretary *Mal-deschi*, an *Italian*, from *Fountainbleau* in *France* to *London*, to procure an invitation from the Protector, who receiv'd the secretary with such marks of respect, as made him hope he should succeed in his errand. He often hinted, that her Majesty would be extremely pleas'd to see so illustrious a captain. *Cromwell* gave him the hearing, but would not understand his meaning: He return'd compliment for compliment; and the secretary soon understood, that the Protector had no mind to receive a visit from the Queen. And indeed he had three reasons against inviting her; the expence of her stay here; his resentment of her apostasy; and the ill example of her conversation, which was too gallant and intriguing for a *Puritan* court.

The Protector's greatest difficulty in his foreignt Is in self- affairs, was, which side to chuse, *France* or *Spain*. pence The latter offer'd, that if his Highnes would join <sup>whether</sup> with them, they would engage themselves to make <sup>to join</sup> no peace; till he should recover *Calais* again to the <sup>France or</sup> English: <sup>Spain.</sup>

1655. English. The Protector was very well pleased with this, thinking it would recommend him much to the nation, to restore that town again to the *English* empire, after it had been a hundred years possess'd by the *French*. Cardinal *Mazarine* having intelligence of this offer made by the *Spaniards*, that he might outbid them, promis'd, in case the Protector would join with *France*, to assist him in taking of *Dunkirk*, a place of much more importance. His Highness was still for some time in suspense, but that which inclin'd him very much to join with *France*, was this; he saw that if *France* should assist the King or his brother with an army of *Hugonots*, to make a descent into *England* (which was threaten'd if he join'd with *Spain*) this might be of very dangerous consequence to him who had so many enemies at home, and so few friends; whereas the *Spaniards* could give those Princes no strength, nor had they any Protestant subjects to assist them in such an enterprize. This consideration made a great impression on him; and whilst he was casting in his mind, what was fit to be done, one *Gage*, formerly a priest, came over from the *West-Indies*, and gave him such a relation of the weakness, as well as of the riches of the *Spaniards* in those parts, that he concluded it would be both an important and easy conquest, to seize on their dominions there. By this he hop'd to supply himself with such a treasure, that his government would be establish'd, before he should need to have any recourse to a parliament for money. And as the *Spaniards* would never admit of a peace with *England* between the tropicks, he was in a state of war with them as to those parts, even before he decla-

Sets out a red war against them in *Europe*. Upon this, he fleet for *Hispaniola* prepar'd a fleet, with a force sufficient, as he thought, to have seiz'd *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*; *Gage* having assur'd him, that success in that expedition would soon make him master of all the rest. When the

Inclines  
to the  
former.

time

time of setting out this fleet came on, all men wonder'd whither it should be design'd. Some imagin'd it was to rob the church of *Loretto*; and this apprehension occasion'd a fortification to be drawn round it: Others talk'd of *Rome* itself; for the Protector's preachers often gave out, *That if it were not for the divisions at home, he would go and sack Babylon.* Others thought the design was against *Cadiz*, tho' he had not yet broke with *Spain*. The *French* knew nothing of the secret; and the Protector not having finish'd his alliance with them, was not oblig'd to impart to them the reason of his preparations. All he said about it was this, *That be sent out the fleet to guard the seas, and to restore England to its dominion on that element.*

THIS fleet consisting of about thirty men of war, under the command of vice-admiral *Penn*, with about four thousand land-soldiers, to be commanded by *Venables*, set sail in the beginning of this year, directly for *Barbadoes*, where the two commanders were order'd to break open their commissions. Being safely arriv'd there, and new men taken in to encrease the land army, they sail'd to the island of *Hispaniola*. Coming about the middle of April before *Sancto Domingo*, the chief port of that country, *Venables* landed his men in an ill place, different from the orders he had receiv'd from the Lord Protector, and march'd them thro' such thick woods and uneasy passages, that the *Spaniards*, with a very unequal number, beat them back. After this they advanc'd again towards the town, taking *Negroes* for their guides, who led them into an ambuscade; so that they were again shamefully repuls'd to the bay where they landed, with the loss of major-general *Haines*, and above six hundred men. They were soon forc'd to re-imbarke; and then, to make some amends for this unhappy miscarriage, they made another descent on the island of *Jamaica*, and obtain'd an easy pos- But takes session Jamaica. Which meets with ill success.

1655.

session of it; which island has ever since remain'd in the hands of the *English*: Where leaving a good body of foot to secure it, they sail'd back to *England*. The Lord Protector was never so much disturb'd as at this disaster at *Hispaniola*; so that *Penn* and *Venables* were no sooner come on shore, but he committed them both to the *Tower*, and could never be prevail'd on to trust either of them again.

*Blake's  
success in  
the Medi-  
terranean.*

ABOUR the time that *Penn* and *Venables* set out on this unfortunate expedition, admiral *Blake* sail'd with another fleet into the *Mediterranean*, to scour those seas of the *Turkish* pirates; and not meeting with any of them, he bravely resolv'd to seek them out in their ports. He came first before *Algiers*, and sending to the *Dey*, demanded that all the *English* ships might be restor'd, and all the *English* slaves releas'd. The *Dey* hereupon sent a rich present to *Blake*, with some store of fresh provisions, and gave him to understand, "That the ships and captives already taken belong'd to private men, therefore not so much in his power; but yet they should be restor'd at a moderate ransom; and if the admiral thought good, they would conclude a peace, and for the future offer no acts of violence to any of the *English* ships and natives." A peace being accordingly concluded, *Blake* sail'd from thence to *Tunis*, where, having made the same demand as at *Algiers*, instead of the like submission, he receiv'd this resolute answer; "That there were their castles of *Galetta*, and their ships and castles of *Porto-Ferino*; he might do his worst, for he should not think to fright them with the sight of his fleet." Provok'd at this answer, *Blake* resolv'd to destroy their ships in *Porto-Ferino*. Accordingly they mann'd their long-boats with stout seamen, and sent them into the harbour to fire those ships, whilst the admiral himself, with all his fleet, thunder'd most furiously with

1655.

with his cannon against their castles. The seamen, in the mean time, so bravely perform'd their parts, that all the nine *Turkish* ships of war were soon reduc'd to ashes, with the loss of only twenty-five men, and forty-eight wounded, on the *English* side. These were actions of the highest conduct and courage, which made the *English* name very formidable in those seas.

THERE was another reason of *Blake's* sailing into the *Mediterranean*, which was, to demand satisfaction of all princes and states, that had molested the *English* in the time of war and confusion at home. Accordingly, among other places, he sail'd to *Leghorn*, and dispatch'd his secretary to demand of the Great Duke of *Tuscany* 60000*l.* for damages sustain'd by the *English* in his dutchy; Prince *Rupert* having taken and sold as many *English* ships, as amounted to that value, to the Great Duke's subjects. The said duke was willing to pay part of the sum, and desir'd time to consult the Pope about the rest. *Blake* said the Pope had nothing to do with it, and he would have the whole sum, which was paid him, 35000 *Spanish*, and 25000 *Italian* pistoles. The Duke pretended that the Pope ought to pay part of the damage, some of the ships having been sold to his subjects; accordingly the next succeeding Pope repaid the Great Duke 20000 pistoles. Admiral *Blake* sent home sixteen ships laden with the effects he had receiv'd from several states for satisfaction and damages, and they were order'd to sail up the *Thames* together, for a pleasing spectacle to the people.

THE King of *Spain*, provok'd at the late attempt upon his dominions in the *West-Indies*, declar'd war against *England*; and the Protector, on the other hand, dispatch'd orders to admiral *Blake*, to watch the return of the *Spanish* plate-fleet, and make what destruction he could upon the coasts of *Spain*; and thought fit now to finish his alliance with *France*.

## The LIFE of

with France, sending *Lockhart* his ambassador thereto for that end. His Highness undertook to send over an army of 6000 foot; and when the forts in *Dunkirk* and *Mardyke* should be taken, they were to be put into his hands. And the French King likewise oblig'd himself, by this treaty, not to permit King *Charles*, nor his brothers, nor any of his relations and adherents, excepting the Queen-mother, to remain in any part of his dominions.

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Two great actions of  
*Cromwell*,  
in favour  
of the Pro-  
testants a-  
broad.

ABOUT this time, the Protector had two signal occasions given him, to exercise his charity, and display his power, and shew his zeal in protecting the Protestants abroad. The Duke of *Savoy* rais'd a new persecution of the *Vaudois*, cruelly murdering and massacring many of them, and driving the rest from their dwellings into the mountains. Upon this the Protector sent to *Mazarine*, desiring him to put a stop to these proceedings; adding, *That he knew well they had the Duke in their power, and could restrain him as they pleas'd; and if they did not, he must presently break with them.* The Cardinal objected to this, as unreasonable: He promis'd to do good offices; but said, he could not answer for the effects. However, nothing would satisfy the Protector, till they oblig'd the Duke of *Savoy* to restore all he had unjustly taken from his protestant subjects, and to renew all their former privileges. For which purpose also he wrote to the Duke of *Savoy* himself, tho' he had otherwise no concern with him. But the title of *Royal Highness* being by mistake omitted on the letter, the major part of the council of *Savoy* was for returning it back unopen'd; but the marquess *de Pianezza* representing to them, that *Cromwell* was as haughty as he was powerful, and would not pass by such an affront; that he would certainly lay *Villa Franca* in ashes, and set the Swiss Protestant Cantons upon *Savoy*; the letter was read; which, together with the Cardinal's influence, had the desir'd success.

The

The Lord Protector also rais'd a great sum of money for the Vaudois, and sent over Moreland to settle all their affairs, and supply all their losses.

THE other instance was this: There happen'd a tumult at Nismes, in which the Hugonots had committed some disorder; who being apprehensive of very severe proceedings upon it, sent one over with great secrecy and expedition to the Lord Protector Cromwell, to desire his interposition and protection. This express found so good a reception the first hour he came, that his Highness having receiv'd the whole account, bid him, " Refresh himself after so long a journey, and he would take such care of his business, that by the time he came to Paris, he should find it dispatch'd." Accordingly, that night he dispatch'd an agent with a letter to the Cardinal, and one inclos'd for the King. The letter to the Cardinal was in Latin; to which he added this postscript in French with his own hand; *Je viens d'apprendre la revolte des habitants de Nismes. Je recommande a votre eminence les interets des reformez.* "I have heard of the tumult at Nismes: I recommend to your eminence the interests of the reformed." He also sent instructions to his ambassador Lockhart, requiring him either to prevail that the matter might be pass'd over, or to come away immediately. The Cardinal complain'd of this way of proceeding; but the necessity of their affairs made him comply. These things rais'd the Protector's character abroad, and caus'd him to be much depended on.

THE lord Broghill, who was one of the Protector's cabinet counsellors, was sent for from Ireland to go to Scotland, and be president of the council there; but he was soon weary of the place, tho' he had a salary of 2000*l.* per Annum. Upon his return to London, Oliver told him, *There's a great friend of yours in town.* Broghill asking who?

His conference with the lord Broghill.

Cromwell

1656. Cromwell said, The lord Ormond: He came to town such a day, and is at such a place, naming it. Broghill said, he knew nothing of it: But the Protector bad him send Ormond word that he knew where he was. The lord Broghill went himself, and told him what Cromwell had said; upon which the marques made haste away: But his lady's papers were seiz'd on, who entreated lord Broghill to intercede for her. As soon as Cromwell saw him, he said with some passion, You have undertaken indeed for the quietness of a fine person! The lady Ormond is conspiring with her husband against me; and by your procurement, I have allow'd her 2000 l. a year of the marques's estate, because they are sufferers in Ireland. She's a wicked woman, and shall not have a farthing of it. The lord Broghill seeing him angry, return'd a soft answer, which seldom fail'd to pacify him; and bumbly desir'd to know what grounds he had for so severe a censure. Grounds enough, reply'd the Protector, There, read it (giving him a letter) 'tis her own hand. Lord Broghill looking upon it, said, It was not lady Ormond's hand, but the lady Isabella Thynn's, between whom and the marques there had been an intrigue. How will you prove it? said Cromwell. Easily, reply'd the other, for I have some letters of that lady's by me; which being shewn to the Protector, he was satisfy'd.

HAVING mention'd this instance of intelligence of lord Ormond's being in town, it may be proper enough to insert here what Bishop Burnet says of Cromwell's using Sir Richard Willis for a spy. "O liver, says he, understood that one Sir Richard Willis was chancellor Hyde's chief confident, to whom he wrote often, and to whom all the party submitted. So he found a way to talk with him: He said, He did not intend to hurt any of the party, his design was rather to save them from ruin: They were apt, after their cups, to run into foolish

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foolish plots, which signify'd nothing but to ruin those who were engag'd in them : He knew they consulted him in every thing. All he desir'd of him was to know those plots, that he might so disconcert them that none might suffer for them. If he clapt any of them up in prison, it should be only for a little time, and they should be interrogated only about some trifling discourse, but never about the business they had engag'd in. He offer'd *Willis* whatever he would accept of, and to give it when, or as he pleas'd." They struck up a bargain, and none was trusted with this but his secretary *Thurloe*, who was a very dextrous man at getting intelligence. Thus *Cromwell* had all the King's party in a net : And the Bishop tells us, he knew every thing that pass'd in the King's little court, and yet not one of his spies was discover'd but *Manning*, who was shot to death in the territories of the Duke of *Newburgh*.

THE Protector having concluded the treaty with *France*, resolv'd now on a vigorous prosecution of the war with *Spain*. For this purpose, admiral *Blake*, and *Montague*, afterwards Earl of *Sandwich*, were order'd with a strong navy to block up the port of *Cadiz*. Here they lay several weeks, but could not provoke the enemy to come out and fight, till want of water, and other necessaries, oblig'd them to sail to *Wyers-bay* in *Portugal* for fresh supplies ; captain *Stayner*, in the mean time, being left behind with seven ships ; who, whilst the commanders were gone to the foremention'd place, esp'y'd the *Spanish* plate-fleet making directly for *Cadiz*, and resolv'd to fall upon it ; which, with the *Speaker*, *Bridgewater* and *Plymouth* frigates, whilst the rest were behind, he so bravely perform'd, that in a few hours the whole fleet was quite spoil'd. One ship was sunk, another burnt, in which the marquis of *Bajadex*, vice-roy of *Mexico*, with his lady and eldest daughter, perish'd in the flames ; two were forc'd on ground, one run away,

The Spa-  
nish plate-  
fleet de-  
stroy'd by  
the Eng-  
lish.

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away, and two remain'd in the conqueror's hands; which being brought to *Portsmouth*, the bullion, to the value of above two millions, was there landed, and convey'd in carts to *London*, as a trophy and triumph of war.

A parliament  
resolv'd on.

THE Protector being now in the height of his glory, resolv'd to call a parliament; to which it is thought by some he could have no other motive or inducement, than to make a party for a crown, and get the title of KING conferr'd on him, which was the only thing he wanted; for as to the power of a King, he was really more formidable than any of the English Monarchs ever were. But others think the necessary expences of the Spanish war was the main occasion of it. Whatever his design was, a parliament was to be summon'd, and writs were issued throughout the three nations for election of members for that purpose; in which all endeavours were us'd to hinder those from being chosen, who were most likely to obstruct the Protector's designs: For this reason the president *Bradshaw*, Sir Henry *Vane*, lieutenant-general *Ludlow* and others were summon'd before the council; and after consultation, upon their refusing to give security not to act against the government, Sir Henry *Vane* was sent prisoner to *Carisbrooke* castle, *Ludlow* was order'd to be taken into custody, and *Bradshaw*, though permitted to go his circuit, as chief justice of *Chester*, had letters sent after him to deter persons from giving their votes for him.

The Pro-  
tector's  
discourse  
with Lud-  
low at the  
council-  
table.

HAVING mention'd lieutenant-general *Ludlow's* being taken into custody, I shall conclude this chapter with an account of what pass'd between him and the Protector at the council-table, as previous thereto. When he appear'd before the council according to summons, his Highness charg'd him with dispersing treasonable books in *Ireland*, and with endeavouring to render the officers of the army disaffected, by discoursing to them about new models

models of government. *Ludlow* confess'd, he had caus'd some papers to be dispers'd in *Ireland*, but said they could not justly be call'd treasonable ; and that though he knew not it was a crime to debate concerning forms of government, yet, to the best of his remembrance, he had not lately done any such thing. The Protector then told him, he was not ignorant of the many plots that were carrying on to disturb the present power ; and he thought it his duty to secure such as he suspected. To which *Ludlow* reply'd, that there were two duties requir'd by God of the magistrate, *viz.* To be a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well ; and whether his actions were good or bad, he was ready to submit to a legal trial : That he knew no other way to secure the magistrate from being afraid of the people, or the people from the dread of the magistrate, but by both doing what is just and good. *You do well*, said the Protector, *to reflect on our fears* ; *yet I would have you know, that what I do, proceeds not from any motive of fear, but from a timely prudence to foresee and prevent danger* ; *and had I done as I should, I had secur'd you immediately upon your coming into England, or at least when you desir'd to be freed from the engagement you had given after your arrival* : *And therefore I now require you to give assurance not to act against the government.* The lieutenant-general desir'd to be excus'd as to that, remembring him of the reasons he had formerly given for his refusal ; and added, that he was in his power, and he might use him as he thought fit. *Pray then*, said *Cromwell*, *what is it that you would have ? May not every man be as good as he will ? What can you desire more than you have ? It were easy*, answer'd *Ludlow*, *to tell what we would have. What is that, I pray ? reply'd the Protector. That which we fought for*, said *Ludlow*, *That the nation might be governed by its own consent. I am*, said the other, *as much for a government by consent*

1656. consent as any man ; but where shall we find that consent ? amongst the prelatical, presbyterian, independent, anabaptist, or levelling parties ? To which Ludlow answer'd, *Amongst those of all sorts who have acted with fidelity and affection to the publick.* The Protector then fell to commanding the present government, extolling the protection and quiet which the people enjoy'd under it ; and said, *he was resolved to keep the nation from being imbru'd in blood.* Ludlow said, He thought too much blood had been already shed, unless there were a better account of it. *You do well,* reply'd the Protector, *to charge us with the guilt of blood ; but we think there is a good return for what hath been shed ; and we understand what clandestine correspondences are carrying on at this time between the Spaniards and those of your party, who made use of your name, and affirm that you will own them and assist them.* Ludlow told him, he knew not what he meant by his party, and he could truly say, that if any had enter'd into an engagement with Spain, they had had no advice from him so to do ; and if they would use his name, he could not help it. His Highness then in a softer way, told him, *That he desir'd not to put any more hardships on him than on himself, that he had been always ready to do him all the good offices that lay in his power, and that he aim'd at nothing by this proceeding but the publick quiet and security.* Truly, Sir, said the other, *I know not why you should be an enemy to me, who have been faithful to you in all your Difficulties.* Upon which the Protector said, *I understand not what you mean by my difficulties : I am sure they were not so properly mine as those of the publick ; for in respect to my outward condition, I have not much improv'd it, as these gentlemen (pointing to his council) well know.* To this they appear'd to assent, by rising from their seats ; and therefore Ludlow (as he tells us) thought fit not to insist farther on that point ; but contented himself

self to say, that it was from that duty which he owed to the publick, whereof the Protector express'd so great regard, that he durst not give the security he desir'd ; apprehending it to be against the liberty of the people, and contrary to law : For proof of which he produc'd an act of parliament, " For restraining the council from imprisoning any of the freeborn people of *England* ; " and if they should do so, requiring the justices of the *Upper Bench*, upon the application of the aggrieved party, to grant his *Habeas corpus*, and give him considerable damages." But, said the Protector, did not the army and council of state commit persons to prison ? To this Ludlow answered, that the council of state did so, but it was by virtue of an authority granted to them by the parliament ; and if the army had sometimes acted in that manner, it had been in time of war, and then only in order to bring the persons secured to a legal trial. *A justice of peace*, said Cromwell, may commit, and shall not I ? Ludlow told him, a justice of peace was a legal officer, and authoriz'd by the law to do so ; which he could not be though he were King, because if he did wrong therein, no remedy could be had against him. Therefore, said he, if I have offended against the law, I desire to be referred to a justice of the peace, that I may be proceeded with according to law ; but if I have done nothing to deserve a restraint, that then I may have my liberty. Upon this, he was order'd to withdraw ; and major-general Lambert advis'd, that he might be peremptorily requir'd to give the security demanded : But the Protector said, That the air of Ireland was good, that he had a house there, and therefore he thought it best to send him thither. In the end, the lieutenant-general resolutely refusing to give the said security, was order'd to be taken into custody, as before related.

## C H A P. VI.

*From the meeting of his third PARLIAMENT,  
to his being confirm'd PROTECTOR by the  
Humble petition and advice.*

1656.

The o-  
pening of  
Crom-  
well's  
third par-  
liament.

**O**N the 17th day of September, the new parliament met his Highness the Lord Protector in Westminster-Abby ; where Dr. John Owen, vice-chancellor of Oxford, preach'd a sermon on these words in *Isaiah*, *What shall one then answer the messengers of the nation ? That the Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of his people shall trust in it.* This being over, the Protector with the members went to the *Painted-chamber*, where he made a short speech to them, and then dismiss'd them to their house : But here they found a guard plac'd, and none were suffer'd to enter but such as had certificates given them, in this form, *These are to certify, that A. B. is return'd by indenture one of the members to serve in this present parliament, for — and approv'd by his Highness's council.* By this means near a hundred members were excluded, who thereupon presented a petition to the sitting members, declaring, “ That being chosen by the country to serve with them, they were ready to discharge their duty ; but were prevented from doing so by the power of the sword, and refus'd admittance into the house by a guard of soldiers.” Upon this, a committee being sent to the Protector and his council, return'd with this answer, “ That if the persons complaining would apply themselves to them, they should be reliev'd if there was cause.” The excluded members therefore seeing no redress, appeal'd to the people in a severe remonstrance, or protestation, complaining, “ That the Lord Protector had by force of arms inva-

Petition  
and re-  
mon-  
strance of  
the ex-  
cluded  
members.

“ ded

" ded their fundamental right and liberty, and  
" violently prevented the meeting of the people's  
" chosen deputies in parliament; and concluding  
" with an appeal to God and all the good people  
" of *England* for assistance and protection in their  
" service, &c."

1656.

THE sitting members made choice of Sir *Thomas Widdrington* for their Speaker; and 'twas soon perceiv'd that they were disposed to act according to the Protector's mind. On the first of *October* acts. The parliament's proceedings and they resolved, " That the war against the *Spaniards* was undertaken upon just and necessary grounds, and for the good of the people of the commonwealth; and that the parliament doth approve thereof, and will by God's blessing assist his Highness therein." They then proceeded to pass several acts; as " 1. An act that passing of bills should not determine this present session of parliament. 2. An act for renouncing and disannulling the pretended title of *Charles Stuart*. 3. An act for security of his Highness the Lord Protector his person, and continuance of the nation in peace and safety; whereby 'twas made high-treason to attempt, compass, or imagine the death of the Protector. 4. An act for taking away the court of *Wards* and *Liveries*. 5. An act for the exportation of several commodities of the breed, growth and manufacture of this commonwealth." And farther, to make good what they had resolved, great sums of money were granted to carry on the *Spanish* war. For this purpose, an act was pass'd, " For an assessment of 60,000*l.* a month for three months upon *England*; another for 5000*l.* a month for the same time, on *Scotland*; and the same on *Ireland*." There was also another act pass'd, " For 30,000*l.* a month for *England*, 6000*l.* a month for *Scotland*, and 9000*l.* a month for *Ireland*, to be paid for three whole years next ensuing."

1656. "ensuing." Another, "For continuing of ton-  
 nage and poundage." And another (which was  
 the revival of an old act) "For preventing mul-  
 tiplicity of buildings in and about the Suburbs  
 of London, and within ten miles thereof; a  
 whole year's revenue to be presently paid for all  
 houses which had been built upon new founda-  
 tions since the year 1620."

The Pro-  
tector's  
speech to  
them at  
his passing  
of bills.

THESE bills, with several others, were at sev-  
 eral times pass'd by the Protector, coming in state  
 as a Sovereign to the *Painted-chamber*. And when  
 the money bills with some others were pass'd, he  
 made this short speech to the Speaker: "I per-  
 ceive, that among these many acts of parliament,  
 there hath been a very great care had by the par-  
 liament, to provide for the just and necessary  
 support of the commonwealth, by these bills  
 for levying of money now brought to me, which  
 I have given my consent unto: And understand-  
 ing it hath been the practice of those who have  
 been chief governors, to acknowledge with  
 thanks to the commons, their care and regard  
 of the publick, I do very heartily and thankfully  
 acknowledge their kindness herein."

The ma-  
jor-gene-  
rals put  
down.

THE parliament had not sat two months when  
 the exorbitant power of the *major-generals* came  
 under consideration. The Protector had hitherto  
 given them good words; but fearing they might  
 in time eclipse his own greatness, he was now for  
 suppressing their authority. And so Mr. *Cleypole*  
 his son-in-law stood up (which was an unusual thing  
 with him) and told the house, "That he could  
 but start the game, and must leave those who  
 had more experience, to follow the chace; and  
 therefore should only say, that he had formerly  
 thought it necessary, in respect to the condition  
 in which the nation had been, that the *major-*  
*generals* should be entrusted with the authority  
 they had exercis'd; but in the present state of

"affairs,

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" affairs, he conceived it inconsistent with the laws  
 " of *England* and liberties of the people, to con-  
 " tinue their power any longer." This motion  
 was a clear direction to the court party in the house;  
 who being well assur'd, that *Cleypole* had deliver'd  
 the sense, if not the very words of the Protector  
 therein, join'd as one man in opposing and abo-  
 lishing the power of these *major-generals*.

ABOVT this time, one *James Naylor*, a late sol- Account  
 dier under general *Lambert*, took upon him to of *James*  
 personate our Saviour, resembling his picture in his *Naylor*.  
 garb, hair, and looks. He went about with disci-  
 ples, and women ministring unto him, and enter'd  
 the city of *Bristol*, riding upon an ass, his followers  
 strewing his way with leaves and boughs of trees,  
 and crying, *Hosanna, blessed is he who cometh in*  
*the name of the Lord.* He also pretended he could  
 heal the sick, raise the dead, and fast forty days,  
 and gave no other answer to any question, but,  
*Thou hast said it.* The magistrates of *Bristol* sent  
 him up to the parliament, who resolv'd, " That  
 " *James Naylor* was guilty of horrid blasphemy,  
 " and a great seducer of the people;" and instead  
 of sending him to *Bedlam*, which would have been  
 the properest place for him, they ordered the  
 Speaker to pronounce this severe sentence against  
 him, *viz.* " To stand in the pillory for two hours  
 " at *Westminster*; to be whip'd by the hangman  
 " from *Westminster* to the *Old Exchange*, and there  
 " to stand in the pillory two hours more; his  
 " tongue to be bored through with a hot iron,  
 " and his forehead stigmatiz'd with the letter *B*;  
 " to be afterwards sent to *Bristol*, and convey'd  
 " through the city on a horse bare-back'd, and his  
 " face backward, and his body whip'd in the market-  
 " place; to be brought back to *London*, and commit-  
 " ted to prison in *Bridewell*, and there to be kept from  
 " all company, and to have no relief, but what he  
 " should earn from hard labour; and being debarr'd

1656. "the use of pen, ink and paper, to be kept to continual work, till he should be discharged by the parliament." Whitelock says, many thought he was too furiously prosecuted by some rigid men. And we must observe likewise, that the above account, which is the most usual, that is given of his heresies and blasphemies, is denied by the body of *Quakers*, who represent him as a plain man, of great zeal, and no great capacity.

Syndercomb's plot.

ABOUT this time, there was a new discovery made of a desperate plot against the Protector's person; which made the acts pass'd for his security be judg'd highly seasonable. Miles Syndercomb, a *Leveller*, having been cashier'd in Scotland, combin'd with one *Cecil* and one *Troop*, of his Highness's life-guard, to assassinate the Protector near *Brentford*, as he was going to *Hampton-Court*. Syndercomb, being betray'd by the other conspirators, stoutly deny'd the plot, but was condemn'd upon the statute of 25 *Edw. III.* the chief justice *Glynn* declaring it treason in case of a Protector, as well as a King, since by the word King any chief magistrate was understood. The prisoner was found dead, when the day appointed for his execution came; whereupon his body was dragg'd naked by a horse's tail to the scaffold on *Tower-bill*, and there bury'd, with a stake driven through it. The Protector was very much disturb'd at this accident; for instead of bringing this man to make some useful discovery to him, which he expected, he found himself under the reproach of causing him to be poisoned, as being afraid to bring him to publick justice. However, a day of publick thanksgiving was appointed for the Protector's deliverance; when, after a sermon at St. Margaret's *Westminster*, his Highness treated the Speaker and Members in the *Banqueting-house* at *Whitehall*, with more than ordinary marks of endearment.

On the 6th of February there was a great meeting of learned men at *Whitelock's house* at *Chelsea*, pursuant

pursuant to this order of parliament: Ordered, "That it be referr'd to a committee to send for and advise with Dr. Walton, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Castle, Mr. Clerk, Mr. Poulk, Dr. Cudworth, and such as they shall think fit, and to consider of the translations and impressions of the bible, and to offer their opinions therein." And about a Week after, Dr. Walton publish'd the Polyglott bible.

THE parliament had sat about six months, when the debate came on in the house about changing Cromwell's title of *Protector* into that of *King*. A new instrument was drawn up, and read in the house, having a blank left for the title of the single person, and two other blanks for two houses of parliament. This was brought in by Mr. Pack, a rich alderman of London, who was suppos'd to be very much in the court interest; and when it came to be debated, 'twas sharply oppos'd by the soldiers party in the house; who joining with the Republicans, fell so furiously upon Pack for his presumption and unparliamentary proceeding, that they bore him down from the Speaker's chair to the bar of the house. But this heat lasted not long; for the lord Brogbill, chief justice Glynn, and others who were privy to the main design, alledging, "That being masters of their own resolutions, they might retain as much of this new form as was good, and reject what was otherwise;" they by this means brought it to be debated: And tho' they met with some opposition therein, yet when it came to be put to the question, they carried all before them, and grew so bold as to move, "That the blank left for the insertion of the title of the chief magistrate might be fill'd up with the name of King:" Which motion, tho' very much oppos'd by lieutenant-general Fleetwood, was likewise carried, and the name voted, together with the filling up the two blanks left for the two houses, with the words, *House of Commons*, and *Other House*.

Design of making Cromwell King.

The par-  
liament  
vote him  
the title.

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And offer  
it to him.

## The LIFE of

THIS done, on the 4th of April they presented this writing to the Lord Protector, which was stil'd, *The humble petition and advice of the parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland to his Highness*; at which time, the Speaker, Sir Thomas Widrington, made a speech to him, recommending the title and office of a King, *as settled here with Christianity it self, approv'd and retain'd by our ancestors, and every way fitted to the laws and temper of the people of England*. The Protector, however inclinable he was to accept of this offer, yet finding it to be against the humour and bent of the army, and the chief officers of it, and that his son-in-law Fleetwood, and his brother-in-law Desborough were particularly averse to it, instead of a ready assent, thought fit to demur upon it; and the better to protract time, in hopes of gaining upon the officers, he desired, "That a committee might be appointed to confer with him, and to offer him better knowledge and satisfaction in this great cause."

A com-  
mittee ap-  
pointed to  
satisfy  
him.

A COMMITTEE was accordingly appointed, which on April 11. met him in the Painted-chamber. Whitelock was chairman, and the chief speakers besides him were, the lord Broghill, chief justice St. John, chief justice Glynn, the lords commissioners Fiennes and Lisle, Lenthal master of the Rolls, Sir Charles Wolsey, Sir Richard Onslow, and colonel Jones. These for two distinct days successively entertained the Protector with long speeches, endeavouring to persuade him to accept of the title of King, which the parliament had offer'd him. Their arguments were principally these: "That the name of a Protector, as he held it, was unknown to the English constitution; but the title of KING had the only foundation in the ancient and known laws of the nation, was interwoven with our laws, and suited to the genius of the people; That it was the head from whence

" all

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“ all the nerves and sinews of the government proceeded ; and if a new head was put on, it was a question, whether those nerves and sinews would grow and receive nourishment : That for him to take up the office of King, without the title, was to take it up with all the objections of scandal : That the *King*, the *Laws* of the nation, the *Liberties* of the people, and also *Parliaments* themselves, had but one foundation, and that the end of the late war was not to destroy *Kingship*, as appeared by six or seven of the parliament’s declarations, one of which was ordered to be read in all churches.” His Highness answer’d, That these arguments were cogent, but not satisfactory ; that the title of Protector might be adapted to the laws ; that providence was against them, that had already altered the name ; and that he were much to be blamed, if he should displease so many pious and religious men, who would take offence at such a proceeding.” The committee reply’d, “ That the title ought to be accommodated to the laws, and not the laws to the title : That the innovation of title was suspected, as being the cover of hidden tyranny, and that the inconveniences of such change were not presently felt ; for which very reason, it was by the parliament deny’d to King *James*, when he came first to this kingdom, to change the title of King of *England* and *Scotland*, into that of *Great Britain* : That by refusing the title of King, he would not so much derogate from his own honour, as from the nation’s, for whose honour it was to have a *King* for the supreme governour : That under the name of Protector was never design’d the supreme moderator, but a temporary officer for guarding the King in his minority, and administering of the kingdom ; and that generally such had been unfortunate : That that appellation having at this time sprung

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“ from the soldiers,avour'd of conquest, and  
 “ might with very good reason be rescinded by  
 “ the parliament. That without the title of King  
 “ the government would be unstable and flitting,  
 “ and would not long stand, being on a tottering  
 “ foundation; as it had been chang'd three or four  
 “ times in these five years, and did still fluctuate:  
 “ That this had been the great encouragement of  
 “ those attempts against his person, that the law did  
 “ not take notice of him as chief magistrate;  
 “ and that juries were generally backward in  
 “ finding any guilty of treason upon that account:  
 “ But by the laws made in *Edward IV.* and *Henry*  
 “ VII's time, whatever was done by a *King in pos-*  
 “ *session*, was good and valid, and all that serv'd  
 “ under him were safe and exempt from punish-  
 “ ment. By those laws his enemies had hitherto  
 “ pleaded indemnity, but by his assuming what  
 “ was desir'd, those laws they pretended for their  
 “ disobedience, would tie them, even by their own  
 “ principles, to obedience. That tho' part of the  
 “ long parliament had taken away *Kingship*, yet  
 “ now it was set up again by a fuller representa-  
 “ tive of three nations; and since the parliament  
 “ of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, had advis'd  
 “ and desir'd him to take upon him the title of  
 “ King, he ought not in reason and equity to re-  
 “ fuse it. That Providence was no less conspicu-  
 “ ous in turning the government again into mo-  
 “ narchy, for avoiding confusion, and bridling the  
 “ tumults of the people, than in changing the  
 “ name of *Monarchy* into *Protectorship*: And that  
 “ good and pious men would acquiesce in the de-  
 “ cree of the parliament, altho' perhaps they might  
 “ seem privately to differ.” In the end, his High-  
 “ ness gratefully acknowledg'd the kindness of the  
 “ offer, but would not give a present answer, ac-  
 “ quainting the committee, “ That he would con-  
 “ sider of all they had said, and seek to God for  
 “ counsel;

He still  
demurs.

"counsel; and then he would send for them, and declare his resolution."

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THE Protector was now under great difficulties and distraction of mind, and many days pass'd before he could come to a resolution in this weighty affair. Whilst this business was in agitation, the Lord Bragbill (afterwards Earl of Orrery) as Bishop Burnet informs us, coming one day to Cromwell, and telling him he had been in the city, the Protector enquir'd of him, *What news he had heard him and there?* The Lord Orrery told him, *He had heard the Earl of was in treaty with the King, who was to be restor'd, Orrery. and to marry his daughter.* Cromwell shewing no displeasure at this, the Earl said, *In the state to which things were reduced, he could see no better expedient: They might bring him in on what terms they pleased; and his Highness might retain the same authority he then had, with less trouble.* To this Cromwell answer'd, *The King can never forgive his Father's blood.* The Earl reply'd, *He was one of many that were concern'd in that, but he would be alone in the merit of restoring him:* Upon which the Protector said, *He is so damnably debauch'd, he would undo us all;* and so went off to other discourse without any emotion; which made his lordship conclude he had often thought of that expedient.

THE Protector in the mean time kept himself on such a reserve, that no man knew what answer he would give to the parliament's offer, tho' 'twas thought most likely that he would accept of it. He, as Ludlow informs us, endeavour'd by all possible means to persuade the officers of the army to approve the design; for which purpose he one time invited himself to dine with colonel Desborough, and carried lieutenant-general Fleetwood with him. He began to droll with them about Monarchy, and speaking slightly of it, said, *It was but a feather in a man's cap, and therefore he wonder'd that men would not please the children, and let them enjoy their rattle.* But He endeavours to gain the army.

they

1657. they being very serious upon the matter, assur'd him, *That there was more in it than he perceiv'd : That those who put him upon it were no enemies to Charles Stuart ; and if he accepted of it, he would draw inevitable ruin on himself and friends.* Having thus sounded them, that he might conclude as he began, he told them, *They were a couple of scrupulous fellows,* and so went away. At another time entering more seriously into debate with these two, he said, *It was a tempting of God to expose so many worthy men to death and poverty, when there was a certain way to secure them.* But they insisting upon the oaths they had taken, he reply'd, *That these oaths were against the power and tyranny of Kings, but not against the four letters that made the word KING.*

THE next day, his Highness sent a message to the house, requiring their attendance to-morrow morning in the *Painted Chamber*, intending, as all men thought, there to declare his acceptance of the crown : But in the mean time meeting with his brother *Desborough*, as he was walking in the park, and acquainting him with his resolution, he receiv'd this answer from him, *That then he gave the cause, and his family also for lost ; and tho' he resolv'd never to act against him, yet he would not act for him after that time.* And so after some farther discourse, *Desborough* went home, and there found colonel *Pride*, whom the Protector had knighted ; and imparting to him his Highness's intention to accept the title of King, *Pride* immediately answer'd, *He shall not.* *Desborough* ask'd him, *How he would hinder it ?* Whereupon *Pride* said, *Get me a petition drawn, and I will prevent it.* And so they both went to Dr. *Owen*, and prevail'd on him to draw a petition according to their mind.

THE next morning, the house being met, some officers of the army coming to the parliament door, sent in a message to colonel *Desborough*, to let him know that they had a petition, and desir'd

him to present it to the house. But he knowing the contents of it, and thinking it not proper for him to take publick notice of it before it was presented, inform'd the house, that certain officers of the army had a petition to present to them ; and mov'd that they should be call'd in, and have leave to present it with their own hands ; which the house generally agreed to, not thinking the army would oppose their designs. And so the petition being deliver'd by lieutenant-colonel *Mason*, was read in the house, and was to this effect ; " That <sup>Their pe-</sup> they had hazarded their lives against Monarchy, <sup>tition a-</sup> and were still ready so to do, in defence of the <sup>gainst</sup> liberties of the nation : That having observ'd in <sup>making</sup> some men great endeavours to bring the nation <sup>him King.</sup> again under their old servitude, by pressing their General to take upon him the title and government of *King*, in order to destroy him, and weaken the hands of those who were faithful to the publick ; they therefore humbly desir'd that they would discountenance all such persons and endeavours, and continue stedfast to the old cause, for the preservation of which they, for their parts, were most ready to lay down their lives."

'Tis hard to say whether the Parliament or the Protector was most surpriz'd at this unexpected address. As soon as his Highness heard of it, he sent for his son-in-law *Fleetwood*, and told him, *That he wonder'd he would suffer such a petition to proceed so far, which he might have hinder'd, since he knew it to be his resolution not to accept the crown without the consent of the army ; and therefore he desir'd him to hasten to the house, and to put them off from doing any thing farther therein.* Accordingly the lieutenant-general went immediately thither, and told them, " That the petition ought not to be debated, much less to be answer'd, at this time, the contents of it being to desire them

" not

1657. " not to press his Highness to be King ; whereas  
 " the present busines was to receive his answer to  
 " what had been formerly offer'd to him ; and  
 " therefore he desir'd that the debate of it might  
 " be put off, till they had receiv'd his answer." The house having agreed to this, receiv'd a message from the Protector, that instead of meeting him in the *Painted Chamber*, where he us'd to speak to them, they would meet him in the *Banqueting-house* ; whither being accordingly come, his Highness made a broken kind of speech to them, as follows :

His speech to the par- " MR. SPEAKER, I came hither to answer that  
 liment. " that was in your last paper to your committee  
 " you sent to me, which was in relation to the  
 " desires which were offered to me by the house,  
 " in that they call'd their petition. I confess  
 " that busines hath put the house, the parlia-  
 " ment, to a great deal of trouble, and spent  
 " much time ; I am very sorry, that it hath cost  
 " me some and some thoughts ; and because I  
 " have been the unhappy occasion of the expence  
 " of so much time, I shall spend little of it now.  
 " I have, the best I can, resolv'd the whole bu-  
 " finesse in my thoughts, and I have said so much  
 " already in testimony of the whole, that I think  
 " I shall not need to repeat any thing that I have  
 " said. I think it is a government, that the aims  
 " of it seeks much a settling the nation on a good  
 " foot in relation to civil rights and liberties,  
 " which are the rights of the nation ; and I hope  
 " I shall never be found to be of them that shall  
 " go about to rob the nation of those rights, but  
 " to serve them what I can to the attaining of  
 " them. It hath also exceeding well provided for  
 " the safety and security of honest men, in that  
 " great, natural, and religious liberty, which is  
 " liberty of conscience. These are great funda-  
 " mentals, and I must bear my testimony to them

" (as

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“ (as I have and shall do still, so long as God lets  
“ me live in this world) that the intentions of the  
“ things are very honourable and honest, and the  
“ product worthy of a parliament: I have only  
“ had the unhappiness both in my conferences  
“ with your committees, and in the best thoughts  
“ I could take to myself, not to be convicted of  
“ the necessity of that thing, that hath been in-  
“ sisted upon by you, to wit, the title of *King*, as  
“ in itself so necessary, as it seems to be appre-  
“ hended by yourselves; and I do, with all ho-  
“ nour and respect to the judgment of the parlia-  
“ ment, testify that (*cæteris paribus*) no private  
“ judgment is to lie in the balance with the judg-  
“ ment of a parliament: But in things that re-  
“ spect particular persons, every man, that is to  
“ give an account to God of his actions, must in  
“ some measure be able to prove his own work,  
“ and to have an approbation in his own consci-  
“ ence of that he is to do, or forbear; and whilst  
“ you are granting others liberties, surely you will  
“ not deny me this, it being not only a liberty,  
“ but a duty (and such a duty as I cannot without  
“ sinning forbear) to examine my own heart, and  
“ thoughts, and judgment, in every work which  
“ I am to set mine hand to, or to appear in  
“ or for.

“ I MUST confess, therefore, that though I do  
“ acknowledge all the other, yet I must be a lit-  
“ tle confident in this; that what with the cir-  
“ cumstances that accompany human actions, whe-  
“ ther they be circumstances of time, or persons,  
“ whether circumstances that relate to the whole,  
“ or private or particular circumstances that com-  
“ pafs any person, that is to render an account  
“ of his own actions; I have truly thought, and  
“ do still think, that if I should (at the best) do  
“ any thing on this account to answer your ex-  
“ pectation, it would be at the best doubtingly:

“ and

1657. " and certainly what is so, is not of faith ; *what soever is not of faith is sin* to him that doth it, " whether it be with relation to the substance of " the action, about which the consideration is " conversant, or whether to circumstances about " it, which make all think indifferent actions " good or evil to him that doth it. I lying un- " der this consideration, think it my duty, only " I could have wish'd I had done it sooner, for " the sake of the house, who have laid so infi- " nite obligations on me ; I wish I had done it " sooner for your sake, for saving time and trou- " ble ; and indeed for the committee's sake, to " whom I must acknowledge publickly I have " been unseasonably troublesome ; I say, I could " have wish'd I had given it sooner ; but truly " this is my answer, that although I think the " government doth consist of very excellent parts " in all but that one thing, the *Title* ; as to me, " I should not be an honest man, if I should not

*He refuses the title.* " tell you, that I cannot accept of the govern- " ment, nor undertake the trouble and charge of " it, which I have a little more experimented " than every man, what troubles and difficulties " do befall men under such trusts and in such un- " dertakings ; I say, I am persuaded to return " this answer to you, *That I cannot undertake this* " government with the title of a KING : And that " is mine answer to this great and weighty bu- " sineſſ."

A digreſſion, concerning the title of King. And here we must not omit a great design of his, which he had purpos'd to begin his Kingship with, in case he had assum'd in favour it ; as 'twas related to Bishop Burnet by one Stoupe, a Grison by birth, and much trusted by the protestant religion. Cromwell in foreign affairs. The design was, to set up a council for the Protestant religion, in opposition to the congregation de propaganda fide,

" at

at *Rome*. His Highness intended it should consist of seven counsellors, and four secretaries for different provinces. The first province was to be, *France, Switzerland, and the Valleys*; the second, the *Palatinate and the other Calvinists*; the third, *Germany, the North, and Turkey*; and the fourth, *the East and West Indies*. The secretaries were to have each 500*l.* salary, and to keep a correspondence every where, to be inform'd of the state of religion all over the world, that all good designs by their means might be promoted. A fund of 10000*l. per Annum* was to be at their disposal for ordinary emergencies; but they were farther to be supply'd as there was occasion. *Chelsea college* was to be fitted up for them, being then an old decay'd building, which had been at first erected for writers of controversy. The Bishop concludes the account thus: "I thought  
" it was not fit to let such a project as this be  
" quite lost: It was certainly a noble one: But  
" how far he would have pursu'd it, must be left  
" to conjecture."

To return; *Cromwell* having refus'd the title He is confirm'd Protector by the humble Petition and Advice of the parliament. of *King*, the parliament soon voted, "That he should enjoy the title and authority he had already;" which was in many particulars enlarged beyond what it was by the former *Instrument*, by the new one, call'd *The humble petition and advice*. This instrument consisted of eighteen articles; but I shall only give the substance of the chief ones, as follows: "That his Highness under the title The substance of it. of *Lord Protector*, would be pleas'd to exercise the office of chief magistrate over *England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.* and to govern according to all things in this *petition and advice*: Also, that in his life-time he would appoint the person that should succeed in the government after his death. That he would call parliaments consisting of *two houses*, once in three years

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" years at farthest. That those persons who were  
 " legally chosen by a free election of the people  
 " to serve in parliament, might not be excluded  
 " from doing their duties, but by consent of that  
 " house whereof they were members. That none  
 " but those under the qualifications therein men-  
 " tion'd, should be capable to serve as members  
 " in parliament. That the power of the *other*  
 " *house* be limited as therein prescrib'd. That  
 " the laws and statutes of the land be observed  
 " and kept; and no laws altered, suspended, ab-  
 " rogated, or repealed, or new laws made, but  
 " by act of parliament. That the yearly sum  
 " of a million of pounds sterl'g be for the main-  
 " tenance of the navy and army; and three hun-  
 " dred thousand pounds for the support of the  
 " government, besides other temporary supplies,  
 " as the commons in parliament should see ne-  
 " cessary. That the number of the Protector's  
 " council should not be above one and twenty;  
 " whereof the *quorum* to be seven and not un-  
 " der. The chief officers of state, as chancellors,  
 " keepers of the great seal, &c. to be approved  
 " by parliament. That his Highness would en-  
 " courage a godly ministry in these nations; and  
 " that such as do revile or disturb them in the  
 " worship of God, may be punished according to  
 " law; and where the laws are defective, new  
 " ones to be made in that behalf. That the pro-  
 " testant Christian religion, as it is contained in  
 " the *Old and New Testaments*, be asserted and  
 " held forth for the publick profession of these  
 " nations; and no other; and that a *confession of*  
 " *faith* be agreed upon and recommended to the  
 " people of these nations; and none be permit-  
 " ted by words or writings, to revile or reproach  
 " the said *confession of faith*, &c."

The pre-  
amble of  
it.

THE preamble to this *petition* was in these words:  
 " We the knights, citizens, and burgesses in this  
 " present

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“ present parliament assembled, taking into our  
“ most serious consideration the present state of  
“ these three nations, joined and united under  
“ your Highness’s protection, cannot but in the  
“ first place with all thankfulness acknowledge  
“ the wonderful mercy of Almighty God, in de-  
“ livering us from the tyranny and bondage, both  
“ in our spiritual and civil concerns, which  
“ the late King and his party designed to bring us  
“ under, and pursu’d the effecting thereof by a long  
“ and bloody war: And also that it hath pleased  
“ God to preserve *your person* in many battles; to  
“ make you an instrument for preserving our  
“ peace; altho’ environ’d with enemies abroad;  
“ and filled with turbulent, restless, and unquiet  
“ spirits in our own bowels; and as in the tread-  
“ ing down the common enemy; and restoring  
“ us to peace and tranquillity, the Lord hath us’d  
“ you so eminently; and the worthy officers and  
“ soldiers of the army (whose faithfulness to the  
“ common cause we and all good men shall ever  
“ acknowledge; and put a just value upon;) so  
“ also that he will use you and them in the settle-  
“ ment and securing our *liberties* as we are men  
“ and Christians, to us and our posterity after us;  
“ which are those great and glorious ends, which  
“ the good people of these nations have so freely,  
“ with the hazard of their lives and estates, so  
“ long and earnestly contended for. We consider  
“ likewise the continual danger which your life is  
“ in, from the bloody practices both of the *ma-*  
“ *lignant* and *discontented* party (one whereof,  
“ through the goodness of God, you have been  
“ lately deliver’d from) it being a received prin-  
“ ciple amongst them, that no order being settled  
“ in your life-time for the succession in the govern-  
“ ment; nothing is wanting to bring us into blood  
“ and confusion, and them to their desired ends,  
“ but the destruction of *your person*: And in case

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“ things

1657.

" things should thus remain at your death, we  
 " are not able to express what calamities would  
 " in all human probability ensue thereupon ; which  
 " we trust your Highness (as well as we) do hold  
 " your self obliged to provide against, and not  
 " to leave a people, whose common peace and  
 " interest you are entrusted with, in such a con-  
 " dition as may hazard both, especially in this  
 " conjuncture, when there seems to be an oppor-  
 " tunity of coming to a settlement upon just and  
 " legal foundations. Upon these considerations,  
 " we have judg'd it a duty incumbent upon us to  
 " present and declare these our most just and ne-  
 " cessary desires to your Highness."

THIS Instrument being digested and agreed' upon, the house sent to the Protector for an audience ; which he appointed to be on the 25th of May, in the *Banqueting-house*. The members waiting upon him accordingly, their Speaker *Widdrington* presented and read the said Instrument to him, and desir'd his assent ; which, after a long pause, he with all the gestures of concern and perplexity, granted ; and then declar'd to them as follows :

He passes it, and makes a speech to the members.

" That he came thither that day, not as to a tri-  
 " umph, but with the most serious thoughts that  
 " ever he had in all his life, being to undertake  
 " one of the greatest burdens that ever was laid  
 " upon the back of any human creature ; so that  
 " without the support of the Almighty, he must  
 " sink under the weight of it, to the damage and  
 " prejudice of these nations. This being so, he  
 " must ask help of the parliament, and of those  
 " that fear God, that by their prayers he might  
 " receive assistance from God ; for nothing else  
 " could enable him to discharge so great a duty  
 " and trust. That seeing this was but an intro-  
 " duction to the carrying on of the government of  
 " these nations, and there were many things which  
 " could not be supply'd without the assistance of  
 " parliament,

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" parliament, it was his duty to ask their help in them : Not that he doubted ; for the same spirit that had led the parliament to this, would easily suggest the rest to them. For his part, nothing would have induc'd him to take this unsupported burden to flesh and blood, but that he had seen in the parliament a great care in doing those things which might really answer the ends that they had engag'd for, and make clearly for the liberty of the nation, and for the interest and preservation of all such as fear God under various forms : And if these nations were not thankful to them for their care therein, it would fall as a sin upon their heads. That yet there were some things wanting that tended to reformation, to the discountenancing vice and the encouragement of virtue ; but he spake not this as in the least doubting their progress, but as one that did heartily desire, to the end that God might crown their work, that in their own time, and with what speed they judg'd fit, those things might be provided for." The speech being ended, the members return'd again to their house. And thus did his Highness accomplish a chief part of what he design'd, which was to have his power and authority confirm'd by parliament.

## C H A P. VII.

*From his being confirm'd Protector by the Parliament's Humble Petition and Advice, to his Death. Concluding with some Account of his Character, and his pompous Funeral.*

CROMWELL having thus accepted of the government from the hands of the parliament, <sup>His so-</sup> <sub>lemn Inauguration.</sub> 'twas thought fit he should have a solemn <sup>Inaug-</sup> <sub>guration</sub> ; which was accordingly appointed to be on the 26th of June, and the house ordered the master

1657. of the ceremonies to give notice thereof to all foreign ambassadors and ministers. *Westminster-hall* was prepar'd for this solemnity, and adorn'd and beautify'd as sumptuously as it could be for a *Coronation*. At the upper end there was an ascent rais'd, where a chair and canopy of state were set, and a table with another chair for the Speaker; and seats were likewise built up for the members of parliament, the judges and officers, and for the lord-mayor and aldermen of *London*. All things being prepar'd, the Lord Protector came out of a room adjoining to the Lords house (having come thither from *Whitehall* by water) and in this order proceeded into the hall. First went his gentlemen, then a herald; next the aldermen, another herald, and the attorney-general; then the judges; then *Norroy* king at arms, the Lords Commissioners of the seal, and of the treasury; then *Garter* king at arms, and after him the Earl of *Warwick* carrying the sword bare-headed before the Protector, and the Lord-mayor *Tichburn* carrying the city fword. His Highness standing up under a cloth of state, the Speaker of the parliament made the following speech to him.

The  
Speaker's  
speech to  
him.

" *MAY it please your Highness*, You are now upon a great theatre, in a large choir of people: You have the parliament of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* before you: On your right hand, my Lords the judges; and on your left hand, the Lord-mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of *London*, the most noble and populous city of *England*. The parliament with the interposition of your suffrage makes laws; and the judges and governours of *London* are the great dispensers of those laws to the people. The occasion of this convention and intercourse, is to give an investiture to your Highness in that eminent place of *Lord Protector*; a name which you had before, but it is now settled by the full unanimous " consent

1657.

" consent of the people of these three nations assembled in parliament: You have no new name, " but a new date added to the old name; the sixteenth of December is now changed to the twenty-sixth of June."

THEN he said, he was commanded by the parliament to make oblation to his Highness of four things in order to his inauguration. At which, being assisted by the Earl of Warwick, and White-lock, he vested his Highness with a robe of purple-velvet lin'd with ermines; telling him, *It was an emblem of magistracy, and import'd righteousness and justice.* Then he presented him with a bible, richly gilt and boss'd with gold, and told him, *It was a book that contain'd the holy scriptures, in which he had the happiness to be well vers'd; it was a book of books, and contain'd both precepts and examples for good government.* Next he put in his hand a scepter of massy gold, saying, *Here is a scepter, not unlike a staff; for you are to be a staff to the weak and poor.* Lastly, he girt him with a very rich sword, with this comment, *This is not a military, but a civil sword; it is a sword rather of defence than offence, not only to defend your self, but also your people.* Then his Highness took an oath, to govern the people of these three nations according to law, &c. Which done, Mr. Manton pray'd, recommending his Highness, the parliament, the council, the forces by land and sea, and the whole government and people of the three nations to the blessing and protection of God. Then the trumpets sounded, and an herald proclaimed his Highness's title, and all was concluded with the loud acclamations of the people, *God save the Lord Protector.* The ceremonies being ended, his Highness with his train return'd to Whitehall, and the members to their house, where they adjourn'd their sitting to the 20th of January next. There was a fine medal struck on the occasion of the Protector's

1657. inauguration, perform'd by that excellent graver Simmonds ; which had on one side the bust of Oliver, and round it, *Oliver D. G. R. P. Ang. Sco. Hiberniae Protector.* On the reverse was an olive-tree flourishing in a field, with this round it, *Non deficient Olivæ, Sept. 3. 1657.*

Bills  
pass'd by  
him.

THE bills passed by the Lord Protector this session, besides those already mention'd, were,

- " 1. An act for limiting and setting the prices for wines.
- " 2. An act for the taking away of purveyance, and compositions for purveyance.
- " 3. An act against vagrants, and wandering, idle, dissolute persons.
- " 4. An act giving licence for transporting fish in foreign bottoms.
- " 5. An act for quiet injoying of sequestered parsonages and vicarages, by the present incumbents.
- " 6. An act for discovering, convicting, and repressing of Popish recusants.
- " 7. An act for punishing of such persons as live at high rates, and have no visible estate, profession, or calling answerable thereto.
- " 8. An act for indemnifying of such persons as have acted for the service of the publick.
- " 9. An act for the better observation of the Lord's-day.
- " 10. An act for the better suppression of theft upon the borders of England and Scotland, and for discovery of highway-men and other felons.
- " 11. An act for the improvement of the revenue of the customs and excise.
- " 12. An act for the assuring, confirming, and settling of lands and estates in Ireland.
- " 13. An act for the attainer of the rebels in Ireland.
- " 14. An act for the settling of the postage of England, Scotland and Ireland."

Lambert  
disgusted  
and re-  
moved.

*LUDLOW* tells us, that the next day after the solemnity of the inauguration, there was a feast prepar'd for the assembly and officers of the army ; at which 'twas observ'd major-general Lambert was not present ; which occasion'd many to suspect he was declining in favour for obstruct-

ing

ing Cromwell's design of being King; for he says 1657.

he was credibly inform'd, that when that business was on foot, the major-general took the liberty to tell Cromwell, *That if he accepted the crown, he could not assure the army to him.* Or perhaps he was disgusted at the Protector's reserving to himself the naming of his successor in the government. Some time after, upon the major-general's refusing to take the oath, enjoin'd by the *humble petition and advice*, not to do any against the present government, and to be true and faithful to the Protector, according to the law of the land; his Highness sent for him, and told him, *He was well assur'd his refusal proceeded not on account of this new authority; for he might remember, that he himself did at the first press him to accept the title of King; and therefore if he was now dissatisfy'd with the present posture of affairs, he desir'd him to surrender his commission.* To this Lambert answer'd, *That having no suspicion that it would then be demanded of him, he had not brought it, but if he pleas'd to send for it, he should deliver it;* which two or three days after was accordingly done. But the Protector not thinking it safe to disgust him entirely, allow'd him a pension of 2000*l.* a year, to keep him from any desperate undertaking.

THE Protector, now in the height of his grandeur and power, met with one very great misfortune, by the death of his valiant and victorious admiral *Blake*, after his having added one very signal exploit more this year to his other glories. Having rode out all the winter storms before *Cadiz* and the coast of *Portugal*, he received certain intelligence, that another *Spanish* plate-fleet, much richer than the former, was coming home; and for fear of the *English* fleet had put into the bay of *Santa Cruz* in the island of *Teneriff*, one of the *Canaries*. Upon this *Blake* with his fleet weigh'd anchor, April 13, and by the 20th stood off the Offing of

The remarkable success of admiral Blake at Santa Cruz.

1657. the said bay ; where he accordingly found the galleons arriv'd, to the number of sixteen men of war. The bay was secur'd by a strong castle well furnish'd with great ordnance, besides seven forts more in several parts of it, mounted with six, four and three great guns a-piece, and united together by a line of communication from one fort to another, which was mann'd with musqueteers. Don *Diego Diagues*, the *Spaniard* admiral, caus'd all his smaller ships to moor close to the shoar, cover'd by the castles and forts, and posted the six large galleons farther off at anchor, with their formidable broadsides to the sea. A *Dutch* merchantman was at this time in the bay, the master whereof perceiving the *English* were ready to enter, and that a combat would presently ensue, desir'd Don *Diego's* leave to depart, *For*, said he, *I am very sure, Blake will presently be amongst us* ; to which the Don resolutely answer'd, *Get you gone if you will, and let Blake come if he dares.*

*BLAKE* having call'd a council of war, and finding it impracticable to carry off the galleons, resolv'd to burn them all : To which end, he first order'd the brave captain *Stayner*, in the *Speaker* frigate, with a squadron to stand into the very bay ; who by eight the next morning fell furiously upon the *Spaniards*, without the least regard to their forts, and fought them almost an hour. The admiral seconding him, posted some of the larger ships to cannonade the castle and forts ; which play'd their parts so well, that the enemy after some time was forced to leave them. *Blake* for the space of four hours engaged the galleons, which made a brave resistance, but were at last abandon'd by the enemy ; as were likewise the smaller vessels which lay under the forts, which were burnt by *Stayner*, whilst *Blake* did the same by the large galleons ; so that this whole plate-fleet, of inestimable value, was utterly destroy'd ; and,

and, which is very remarkable, as soon as ever the action was over, the wind, which before blew strong into the bay, on a sudden veer'd about, and brought *Blake* with his fleet out to sea, without the loss of one ship, and with no more than forty-eight men kill'd, and a hundred and twenty wounded. The news of this brave and unparalleled action being brought to *England* before the end of the session, the parliament order'd a day of thanksgiving for this great success; and the Lord Protector, at their desire, sent the admiral a diamond ring of 500*l.* value, and knighted *Stayner* at his return to *England*.

*BLAKE*, after this noble exploit, sail'd back to *Spain*, where after having kept all their ships and ports in awe, he return'd for *England*. But falling sick of a fever, he died in the 59th year of his age, just as the fleet was entering into *Plymouth* sound; where he passionately enquir'd for the land, but found his own element the more proper bed of honour. He had a publick funeral solemnly and justly bestow'd upon him, and the honour of being interr'd in *Henry VII*th's chappel. The lord *Clarendon* says, "He was the first man that declin'd the old track and made it manifest, that the (naval) science might be attain'd in less time than was imagin'd; and despis'd those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ships and his men out of danger, which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection; as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first man who brought ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discover'd by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infus'd that proportion of courage into the seamen,

1657. " seamen, by making them see by experience,  
 " what mighty things they could do, if they were  
 " resolv'd ; and taught them to fight in fire as  
 " well as upon water : And tho' he hath been very  
 " well imitated and follow'd, he was the first that  
 " gave the example of that kind of naval courage,  
 " and bold and resolute atchievements."

HE had a very great regard to the honour of his country, and the *English* dominion of the seas. He endeavour'd to preserve peace and unity among his seamen, by telling them, " That they should not listen to any news from land, nor mind the changes in the government, but remember that the fleet was *English*, and that their enemies were foreigners ; and therefore they must fight for the honour of the *English* nation."

An instance of the honour of his country, mention'd by Bishop Burnet, I cannot omit. He says, that *Blake* happened to be at *Malaga* with the fleet, before *Cromwell* made war upon *Spain*, some of his seamen going ashore, met the *host*, as it was carrying about, and not only refus'd to pay any honour to it, but laugh'd at those who did.

Whereupon one of the priests stirr'd up the people to resent this affront ; and so they fell upon them and beat them severely. The seamen returning to their ship, and complaining of the usage they had met with, *Blake* immediately dispatch'd a trumpeter to the *Vice-Roy*, to demand the priest who had been the chief occasion of it : To which the *Vice-Roy* return'd this answer, *That he had no authority over the priests, and so could not dispose of him*. But *Blake* sent him word again, *That he would not enquire who had power to send the priest to him, but if he were not sent within three hours, he would burn their Town*. And so being unable to resist him, they sent the priest to him ; who justifying himself upon the rude behaviour of the seamen, *Blake* answer'd,

answer'd, *That if he had sent a complaint to him of it, he would have punish'd them severely, since he would not suffer his men to affront the establish'd religion of any place at which he touch'd; but he took it ill, that he set on the Spaniards to do it; for he would have all the world to know, that an Englishman was only to be punish'd by an Englishman.* And so he civilly treated the priest, and dismiss'd him, being satisfy'd that he had him at his mercy. The Bishop says, *Cromwell* was exceedingly pleas'd with this, and read the letters in council with great satisfaction, telling them, *He hoped he should make the name of an Englishman as great as ever that of a Roman had been.*

As victory crown'd the Protector's arms by sea this year, so his forces by land were not unsucces-  
ful. The 6000 men which his Highness was  
oblig'd by his treaty with *France* to provide, for  
acting jointly with the *French* against the *Spaniards*,  
being transported under the command of Sir *John Reynolds* and major-general *Morgan*, the *French*  
had no inclination to begin upon *Mardyke* or *Dunkirk*, which when taken were to be put into *Cromwell's* hands, but march'd to other places which they were to conquer for their own use. But his Highness's ambassador *Lockhart* made such repeated representations to the Cardinal, complaining of their breach of faith, not without some menaces, *That his master knew where to find a more punctual friend*, that as soon as they had taken *Montmedy* and *St. Venant*, the army march'd into *Flanders* and invested *Mardyke*, which being taken would much facilitate the design upon *Dunkirk*. The *French* and *English* had not lain before this strong place above four days, when it was reduc'd to a surrender upon composition, and deliver'd up wholly into the possession of the *English*. But presently after, the *French* being withdrawn into winter-quarters, the *Spaniards*, who were sensible

The suc-  
cess of the  
Protec-  
tor's arms  
by land.

1657. sensible of what great importance this place was to the preserving of *Dunkirk*, detach'd a body of horse and foot to retake it. Among these were 2000 *English* and *Irish*, commanded by the Duke of *York*; and they made two very furious storms upon the fort, but were stoutly repuls'd, and forc'd to fly, with the loss of several brave commanders.

*LUDLOW*, speaking of this action, says, *Many of those who were kill'd on the enemy's side were English under the Duke of York*: *And as it was confess'd by all present, that the English who took part with the French, behav'd themselves with more bravery than any*; *so it was observ'd, that those of the cavalier party, who had join'd with the Spaniards, behav'd themselves worst*. The marshal *Turenne* commanded the army that took *Mardyke*; to whom Cardinal *Mazarine* wrote thus, at *Lockhart*'s instances, before the siege: *Nothing can be of more fatal consequence to France, than the loss of Cromwell's friendship, and the breach of the union with him*; *which certainly will be broken, if some strong town is not taken and put into his hands*. This conquest was very grateful to *Cromwell*, who immediately sent ten men of war to guard the port of *Mardyke*, and cruize on that coast. A foreign popish writer, speaking of this matter, says, “In effect, nothing could flatter the ambition of *Cromwell* more than this acquisition, knowing he had thereby won immortal glory: He had, without the loss of a man, accomplish'd a design, which the greatest Kings of *England* had often attempted in vain, at the expence of their people's blood and treasure: He had re-establish'd the *English* on the continent, and put them in a condition to make themselves masters of both sides of the channel, which had been despair'd of since the loss of *Calais*.”

UPON

UPON the French King's entering into an agreement with the Lord Protector of England, King Charles with his family was obliged to leave France and retire to Cologne ; where having resided about two years and a half, he this year, upon concluding a treaty with the Catholick King, repair'd to the city of Bruges in Flanders, where he found a handsome accommodation for himself and his small court. About this time, among other methods he us'd in order to his restoration, Mr. Echard tells us makes a of a private application he made to Cromwell, private offer to him. which he says came from the mouth of the Dutches of Lauderdale, who told the same to a person, of whose credit he could make no question. The story is this : That this Lady, afterwards Dutches of Lauderdale, being a particular friend and acquaintance of Cromwell's, was employ'd to make a private offer and proposal to him, in substance as follows, " That if he would restore, or permit the King to return to his throne, he would send him a blank paper, for him to write his own terms and limitations, and settle what power and riches he pleas'd upon himself, family, and friends." This proposal was first communicated to the Protector's Lady, who liked it very well, believing that besides other advantages, it would bring absolute indemnity and security to her husband, and the whole family. She therefore took an opportunity, when she was in bed with him, to mention the offer to him, and endeavour'd to persuade him to accept of it, as being of the highest moment to the happiness of himself and relations. But he, without minding her arguments and persuasions, presently told her, *She was a fool,* adding this shrewd sentence, *If Charles Stuart can forgive me all that I have done against him and his family, he does not deserve to wear the crown of England.*

1657.

THE King keeping his court at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, had many consultations with the governor *Don John*, and was in great hopes the distractions in *England* might at length turn to his own advantage ; which encouraged the *Spaniards* to protect his person, and accept his arms in *Flanders* ; where the marques of *Ormond*, the lord *Rochester*, the lords *Gerrard* and *Wentworth*, the lord *Taaf*, and general *Middleton*, had their several regiments quarter'd along the sea-coast, under the command of the Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester* ; both to assist his Catholick Majesty against his enemies the *French*, who were supported by *Cromwell*, and to be in a readiness to transport themselves into *England*, if any favourable opportunity should invite them. And indeed, an insurrection of the King's friends was at this time design'd ; to promote which, there was now publish'd, and with great industry dispers'd, a very bold paper, entitled, *Killing no Murder*, making it not only lawful but honourable to kill the Protector, as a tyrant and common enemy of his country. This put his Highness into a terrible fright, and made him very vigilant to apprehend the author, who was then conceal'd, not only in his person, but in the very suspicion of his name, tho' since generally believ'd to be colonel *Titus*, who made a great figure in some of the parliaments after the King's restoration. Some time after this alarm, which serv'd more to put the Protector upon his guard, than to forward the preparations of the royalists, the marques of *Ormond* slipt over from *Flanders*, and lay privately in *London*, to quicken the design, intending also to send for his troops to push on the execution of it. But the Protector, who was always good at intelligence, had (as was before related) corrupted Sir *Richard Willis*, who seem'd to be at the head of the King's party, and pretended a great deal of zeal for his service, to discover all their most secret contrivances to him ; and by his intelligence,

An insur-  
rection  
design'd.

And pre-  
vented.

intelligence, he set out a proclamation against the conspirators before they could get into a body ; by which means many of them were apprehended, the marquess of *Ormond* himself very narrowly escaping.

THE Protector now sent his writs of summons, under the great seal, to divers persons to sit as members of the *Other House* ; the form of which writs was the same with that which was us'd to summon the Peers in parliament. The persons who were to compose the *Other House* were about sixty in number ; among whom were divers noblemen, knights, and gentlemen of ancient families of good estates, and some colonels and officers of the army. Their names were as follows : The lord *Richard Cromwell*, the Protector's eldest son ; the lord *Henry Cromwell*, his other son, lord deputy of *Ireland* ; *Nathaniel Fiennes*, and *John Lisle*, lords commissioners of the great seal ; *Henry Lawrence*, lord president of the council ; *Charles Fleetwood*, lieutenant-general of the army ; *Bulstrode Whitelock*, and *William Sydenham*, commissioners of the treasury ; *Robert Earl of Warwick*, *Edmund Earl of Mulgrave*, *Edward Earl of Manchester*, *William viscount Say and Seal*, *Philip viscount Lisle*, *Philip lord Wharton*, *Thomas lord Fauconberg*, *George lord Eure*, *John Claypole Esq*; *Charles Howard Esq*; whom the Protector made a viscount, *John Desborough*, and *Edward Montague*, generals at sea ; Sir *Charles Wolsey*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, *Walter Strickland Esq*; major-general *Skippon*, colonel *Philip Jones*, Sir *William Strickland*, *Francis Rouse Esq*; *John Fiennes Esq*; Sir *Francis Russel*, Sir *Thomas Honnywood*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, Sir *John Hobart*, Sir *Richard Onslow*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Sir *William Roberts*, lord-chief-justice *Glynn*, lord-chief-justice *St. John*, *William Pierpoint Esq*; *John Crew Esq*; *Alexander Popham Esq*; Sir *Christopher Pack*, Sir *Robert Tichburn*, Edward

1657.

House of  
parlia-  
ment.

1657. ward Whalley Esq; Sir John Barkstead, lieutenant of the Tower; Sir George Fleetwood, Sir Thomas Pride, Sir John Hewson, Richard Ingoldsby Esq; James Berry Esq; William Goffe Esq; Thomas Cooper Esq; Edmund Thomas Esq; George Monk, general in Scotland; David Earl of Cassils, Sir William Lockhart, Sir Archibald Johnston, William Steel, lord chancellor of Ireland; Roger lord Broghill, Sir Matthew Tomlinson, William Lenthal and Richard Hambden Esqs; Some of these were knights of the Protector's own making.

The two houses meet, and his Highness makes a speech to them.

THE parliament thus improv'd by the addition of another house, met a second time on the 20th day of January; when the Protector came as a Sovereign to the house of Lords, and sending for the Speaker and house of Commons by the black-rod, made a short speech to them, beginning in the old stile, *My Lords, and you the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the house of Commons;* and then discoursing some particulars which he recommended to them, thanking them for their good correspondence the last session, and assuring them, if they went on as they had begun, they should be call'd *The blessed of the Lord, and generations to come should bless them;* he left his lord keeper Fiennes to make a long speech to them, with all the state of our ancient Monarchs.

As several of the nobility, who had writs sent to them, refus'd to sit in the *Other House;* so Sir Arthur Haslerigg, and some few more of the commons declin'd that honour, and chose rather to sit in the lower house, for which they had been elected members by the people. Many others also, who had been excluded by the Protector in the first session of this parliament, now ventur'd to take their seats, upon the third article of the *Petition and Advice,* by which *no members legally chosen, were to be excluded from the performance of their duty, but by consent of that house wherof they were members.* By this

this means, and the removal of those of the other house, who were, for the most part, taken out of this, a considerable alteration was made in this assembly ; so that they soon began to call in question the authority and jurisdiction of the other houses. 1657.

Sir Arthur Haslerigg, appear'd very forward in fermenting differences between these two bodies. Upon this his Highness sent for the Commons to the Banqueting-house, where he exhorted them to unity, and to the observance of their own rules in the Petition and Advice. But this having no effect upon them, they went on in the same way ; many being against the members of the other house being call'd Lords, others intirely against the having such another house, and some speaking reproachfully of it. These proceedings tended to their own destruction ; for the Protector looking upon himself to be aim'd at by them, and that these things were only the testimonies of their envy towards him and his government, began to think of putting a stop to all by dissolving the parliament. Whilst he was revolving this in his mind, on the 4th of February, he receiv'd fresh information concerning the diligence of his adversaries in all parts ; which quicken'd him to that degree, that he would not stay for one of his own coaches, but taking the first that was at hand, with such guards as he could presently get together, he hurried to the Other House : Whither being come, he imparted his resolution to dissolve the parliament to lieutenant-general Fleetwood ; who earnestly endeavouring to dissuade him from it, he clap'd his hand upon his breast, and swore, by the living God he would do it. Then the usher of the black rod was sent to the Commons to acquaint them, that his Highness was in the Lords house, and there requir'd their attendance. Hereupon they, with the speaker, went up, and his Highness made a speech to them, declaring sever-

The Protector  
dissolves  
them.

1657. ral urgent and weighty reasons, which made it necessary for him, in order to the publick peace and safety, to proceed to an immediate dissolution of this parliament; and accordingly he did dissolve them.

Plot of the fifth-monarchy men against him.

His Highness was the more incens'd, because at this time the fifth-monarchy men were forming a dangerous conspiracy to overthrow him and his government; which he suspected was countenanc'd by many of the parliament. Major-general *Harrison* was deep in this plot, which was laid for an insurrection to dethrone the Protector. Their chief cabal was held in a house near *Shoreditch*, where secretary *Thurloe*, who spared no pains or money for his master's safety, had a spy among them, and suffer'd them to go on till the night before that wherein they had appointed to rendezvous; at which time he sent a party of soldiers, who seiz'd the chief of them as they were consulting about the manner of putting their design in execution. Their arms and ammunition were likewise seiz'd, with a standard of a *Lion couchant*, as of the tribe of *Judah*, with this motto, *Who shall rouse him up?* and several copies of a printed declaration, with this title, *The principle of the Remnant, &c.* The conspirators apprehended were *Venner*, *Gray*, *Gowler*, *Hopkins*, *Afton*, and others, who were carried prisoners to the *Gate-house*, where they lay long in a miserable condition, but were spared to create disturbance and their own destruction at another time, viz. soon after the King's restoration.

Story of  
cornet  
*Day*.

SHORTLY after, as *Ludlow* informs us, some persons who us'd to meet in *Coleman-street*, to deplore the apostasy of the times, and particularly that of *Whitehall*, were apprehended by the lord mayor's officers, pursuant to the Protector's orders, as they were coming out of their meeting-place. Among these was one cornet *Day*, who being accus'd of saying, *That the Protector was a rogue and a traitor*, confess'd the words; and to justify himself

self said, that *Cromwell* had affirmed in the presence of himself and several other officers, *That if he did oppress the conscientious, or betray the liberties of the people, or not take away tithes by a certain time (now past) they should then have liberty to say, he was a rogue and a traitor.* He desir'd leave therefore to produce his witnesses, who were then present, to what he had asserted. But the busines was so manag'd, that he and some others were fin'd and imprisoned for their misdemeanours. 1657.

THE Cavalier plot was mention'd before. And The Cavalier of this also he had timely informations given him; upon which he sent for the lord mayor, aldermen and common-council of the city of London, and acquainted them with it, and desired their care to put the city into a posture of defence. They accordingly went back with great indignation against the Royalists, and took extraordinary care of their gates and guards, and withal drew up an humble address to his Highness, promising the faith of the city, and the purse of it, in firmly adhering to him against all his enemies. Addresses also of the same strain were made from general Monk's and other regiments, and from the English forces in Flanders; all which his Highness answered with thanks. He now thought it time to proceed against the conspirators themselves, whom he had safely lodged in prison. For this purpose a high Trial of court of justice was erected, being founded on a law made by the late parliament for the security of his Highness's person. Whitelock was one of the commissioners, but he tells us he never sat with them, 1658. it being against his judgment. Before this court were brought, Dr. Hewet, Sir Henry Slingsby, and Mr. Mordaunt, with some others of the meaner sort. The general charge against them was, " For endeavouring to levy war against the government on behalf of Charles Stuart." The particular charge against Dr. Hewet was, " For dispersing

1658. " commissions from the son of the late King, and  
 persuading divers to raise forces by virtue of  
 the same." That against Sir *Henry Slingsby* was,  
 For attempting to debauch some of the garrison  
 of *Hull* to the service of *Charles Stuart*, and de-  
 livering a commission from him to them." And  
 the prisoners of less note were charg'd " With a  
 design of firing the city in several parts, at the  
 time appointed for the insurrection." Dr.  
*Hewet* deny'd the jurisdiction of the court, and ar-  
 gued against the legality of it; and so for con-  
 tempt, after having been three times required to  
 plead, he was adjudged guilty of the charge; and  
 when he afterwards offer'd to plead, he was told it  
 was too late. Sir *Henry Slingsby* pleaded that he  
 was a prisoner at the time when he was charg'd to  
 have practis'd against the government, and that the  
 persons whom he was accused of attempting to  
 corrupt, had trepanned him by their promises to  
 serve the King in delivering *Hull*, if he would  
 give them a commission to act for him; which com-  
 mission was an old one that had lain long by him.  
 But all this availing him nothing, he was, toge-  
 ther with Dr. *Hewet*, adjudged to die; and ac-  
 cordingly they were both beheaded on *Tower Hill*,  
 notwithstanding all endeavours that were us'd for  
 procuring their pardon. Six of the meaner sort  
 were condemn'd to be hang'd, but only three suf-  
 fer'd; one in *Tower-street*, another in *Cheapside*,  
 and the third before the *Exchange*. As for Mr.  
*Mordaunt*, he pleaded *not guilty*, and after a full  
 hearing of the witnesses on both sides, the court  
 acquitted him by one voice.

WHEN these trials were over, the *High court of justice* was dissolv'd, and the Protector, by *Whitelock's* advice, referr'd all future trials of conspira-  
 tors to the *Upper Bench*, in the course of common  
 law. He not only made *Howard* a Viscount, but  
 sign'd a patent to make *Whitelock* one, and three  
 other

other patents to make the attorney-general *Pri-deaux*, and the solicitor-general, Baronets, and *John Maynard*, Esq; his Highness's serjeant. 1658.

In the beginning of this year, a party of the garrison of *Ostend*, with the privity of the governour, held intelligence with Cardinal *Mazarine*, and then with the Protector *Cromwell*, to betray that town into the hands of the *French*, wherein the Lord Protector was to have his share. *Mazarine* was to send a land army under the command of marshal *D'Aumont*, and the Protector was to furnish a fleet for transporting the men. Articles having been agreed on between the supposed conspirators and the Cardinal, on *May 14th*, the appointed day, the *English* fleet appeared before *Ostend*, and the garrison permitted the *French* to pass and land, who thought of nothing but an immediate possession of the place. But the subtle governour, having suffered the fleet to come to a proper distance, on a sudden pull'd down the white flag that had invited them in, and set up a bloody flag: And before the vessels could tack about, or get out of his reach, he sorely gall'd them by the cannon from the forts; and the *French* that landed were all, to the number of 1500, slain or taken prisoners, among which last was the marshal *D'Aumont* himself.

PRESENTLY after this great disappointment, it was resolved to attempt the taking of *Dunkirk*; which was accordingly invested by the *French*, assisted by 6000 valiant *Englishmen*, under the inspection of *Lockhart*, the Protector's ambassador, but more immediately under the command of major-general *Morgan*. Whilst they were carrying on their approaches towards the town, the *French* under marshal *Turenne* on the side of *Newport*, and *Morgan* with his *English* and a brigade of *French* horse, on that next *Mardyke*, they had intelligence brought them, that the *Spanish* general, Don *John*

1658. of *Austria*, with the Prince of *Conde*, the Prince *de Ligny*, and the Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester*, were advancing with 30,000 men to relieve the place. Hereupon the French King and Cardinal were persuaded by *Turenne* and others to withdraw their persons, and retire to *Calais*, and leave all to be determined by a council of war. In the first council, which was held without either *Lockhart* or *Morgan*, it was resolv'd to raise the siege, if the enemy came on. But in the next, when those two were present, *Morgan* vehemently oppos'd that resolution, alledging, "What a dishonour it would be to the crown of *France*, to have summon'd a place, and broke ground before it, and then raise the siege and run away ;" and desiring the council to consider, *That if they rais'd the siege, the alliance with England would be broken the same hour*. Upon which it was resolv'd, contrary to their former intention, to give battle to the enemy, if they came on, and to maintain the siege. And the enemy coming on, a desperate fight ensued, in which the *Spaniards* were in a manner totally routed by the *English*, before the *French* came in. At the end of the pursuit, marshal *Turenne*, with above a hundred officers, came up to the *English*, alighted from their horses, and embracing the officers, said, "They never saw a more glorious action in their lives, and that they were so transported with the sight of it, that they had not power to move, or do any thing."

The town taken, The Spanish army being entirely vanquished, the confederates renew'd their attempts upon the town of *Dunkirk* with great vigour and industry ; and the marques *de Leda* the governour, being mortally wounded, as he was sallying out upon the besiegers, the *Spaniards* within desir'd a present capitulation ; which being granted, this important place was surrenderv'd upon articles, on the 25th of June ; when it was immediately deliver'd up into the hands of the *English* by the *French* King and Cardinal

dinal in person, pursuant to the treaty between them and his Highness the Lord Protector. 1658.

AND here I cannot omit the following story in A remarkable story relation to this affair, in which both the perfidious- ness of the *French* court, and the policy and power of the *English* Lord Protector are very remarkably great seen. It is thus related by Dr. *Welwood*. " When ~~licy~~ and the *French* army being join'd with the *English* auxiliaries, was on its march to invest the town, ~~forth the~~ setting forth the power of the Protector.

" Cromwell sent one morning for the *French* Ambassador to *Whitehall*, and upbraided him publicly for his master's designed breach of promise, in giving secret orders to the *French* general to keep possession of *Dunkirk*, in case it was taken, contrary to the treaty between them. The Ambassador protested he knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did not, and begg'd leave to assure him, that there was no such thing thought of. Upon which Cromwell pulling a paper out of his pocket, *Here* (says he) *is a copy of the Cardinal's order*: *And I desire you to dispatch immediately an express, to let him know, that I am not to be imposed upon; and that if he deliver not up the keys of the town of Dunkirk to Lockhart within an hour after it shall be taken, I'll come in person and demand them at the gates of Paris.* There were but four persons said to be privy to this order, the Queen-mother, the Cardinal, the Marshal *de Turenne*, and a Secretary. The Cardinal, for a long time, blam'd the Queen, as if she might possibly have blabb'd it out to some of her women: Whereas it was found after the secretary's death, that he had kept a secret correspondence with Cromwell for several years; and therefore it was not doubted but he had sent him the copy of the order above-mention'd. The message had its effect; for *Dunkirk* was put into the possession of the *English*: And to palliate the matter (continues *Wel-*

1658.

A solemn  
embassy  
to him  
from the  
French  
court.

" wood) the duke and marshal of *Creguy* was dis-  
 " patch'd into *England*, ambassador extraordi-  
 " nary, to compliment *Cromwell*, attended with  
 " a numerous and splendid train of persons of  
 " quality; among whom was a Prince of the  
 " blood, and *Mancini*, *Mazarine's* nephew, who  
 " brought a letter from his uncle to the Protector,  
 " full of the highest expressions of respect, and  
 " assuring his Highness, *That being within view*  
 " *of the English shore, nothing but the King's indis-*  
 " *position* (who lay then ill of the small-pox at  
 " *Calais*) *could have binder'd him to come over to*  
 " *England, that he might enjoy the honour of wait-*  
 " *ing upon one of the greatest men that ever was,*  
 " *and whom, next to his master, his greatest ambi-*  
 " *tion was to serve. But being depriv'd of so great*  
 " *a happiness, he had sent the person that was nearest*  
 " *to him in blood, to assure him of the profound*  
 " *veneration he had for his person, and how much*  
 " *he was resolv'd, to the utmost of his power, to*  
 " *cultivate a perpetual amity and friendship betwixt*  
 " *his master and him."*

THO' *Welwood* tells us, this embassy was to palliate the business of *Dunkirk*, the author of the *History of England during the reigns of the royal house of Stuart*, says it was to return a compliment *Cromwell* paid the *French King*, on his arrival at *Calais*, just before *Dunkirk* was surrend'red; when his Highness sent the lord *Falconbridge*, his son-in-law, with a numerous and splendid retinue, of 150 gentlemen and servants, to congratulate that Monarch upon his coming into the neighbourhood of *England*. He also brought a letter from the Protector to the King, written with his own hand, and another to the Cardinal, pressing the reducing of *Dunkirk*, as a nest of pirates. His lordship had as much honour done him as could be paid to a sovereign prince. All rules in the ceremonials were pass'd over.

The Cardinal

Cardinal receiv'd him as he came out of his coach, 1658.  
and gave him the right hand in his apartment,  
which was never done to the imperial ambassador,  
or the pope's nuncio, and at which all the other  
foreign ministers grumbled. He was royally  
treated both by the King and the Cardinal, during  
the five days of his stay ; and after he had taken  
his audience of leave, his Majesty presented him  
with a gold box inlaid with diamonds, the arms of  
*France* on the cover, and three large jewels for the  
three *Flower-de-luces* ; on the inside was the King's  
picture set in diamonds ; the whole of 5000 crowns  
value. And as his Excellency had presented the  
King with two sets of *English* horses, from the  
Lord Protector, and one set to the Cardinal ; the  
King return'd a present of a sword, valu'd at  
10,000 crowns ; and the Cardinal sent his High-  
ness a suit of tapestry hangings, wrought after the  
*Persian* manner in the *Gobelins* at *Paris*.

AND hereupon, the Duke *de Crequi* (as was  
before mention'd) was dispatch'd into *England* by  
the *French* King, to compliment the Lord Pro-  
tector. He was receiv'd at his landing at *Dover*  
by lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*, accompanied by  
several great officers in twenty coaches and six,  
one hundred life-guard, and two hundred horse,  
who all attended the Ambassador with swords  
drawn in their hands ; besides above 150 gentle-  
men, who came with *Fleetwood* on horseback.  
The Protector met his Excellency at the third stair,  
and the next day entertain'd him at dinner, seat-  
ing him at his right hand, and his son the lord  
*Richard* at his left. Some say, the Duke presented  
*Cromwell* with the keys of *Dunkirk*, telling him,  
*His master took pleasure in parting with them to the  
greatest Captain upon earth*. He stay'd six days,  
and at his departure, his Highness presented him  
with a sword, worth 3000 crowns, and a striking  
watch set with diamonds of the same value, with  
above

1658. above 40 pieces of fine English broad-cloath. He gave also 30 gold watches to the officers and gentlemen of his retinue, and 1000 broad pieces among his servants.

The state  
of his af-  
fairs a lit-  
tle before  
his death.

BUT as all worldly glory and prosperity must have an end, so our Protector's greatness, which expired only with his life, now drew near to a period. It has been observ'd by some, that tho' after the dissolution of the last parliament, all things seem'd to succeed at home and abroad, according to his wish, and his power and greatness to be better establish'd than ever; yet he never had that serenity of mind, after his refusal of the crown, that he before usually enjoy'd: that he was now much more apprehensive of danger to his person than he used to be, and the many plots and conspiracies against him, gave his mind great disturbance; insomuch that he grew very suspicious, and more difficult of access, and was more rarely seen abroad than formerly. Bishop Burnet says, it was generally believ'd that his life and all his arts were exhausted at once, and that if he had liv'd much longer, he could not have held things together. However this be, 'tis certain he was greatly afflicted with the loss of some of his family and friends, a little before his death. He seemed to be much troubled for the death of his friend, the old Earl of Warwick, with whom he had a fast friendship, tho' neither their humours nor their natures were very much alike; and the heir of that house, who had married his youngest daughter, died about the same time; so that all his relation to, and confidence in that family, was at an end. But that which chiefly disturbed his peace, was the death of his best beloved daughter, the lady Elizabeth Cleypole, who is said to have earnestly interceded for Dr. Hewet's life, and yet in that only instance had a denial from her fond father. She died at Hampton-Court on the 6th of August;

and

The  
death  
of his  
daughter  
Cleypole.

and her body being carried by water to *Westminſter*, after lying in state in the *Painted-Chamber*, was solemnly interr'd in *Henry the VIIth's* chapel.

ABOUT a week after her death, the Protector, He falls sick. who had been ill about a fortnight before, grew considerably worse at *Hampton-Court*, whither he had retired with his council. His disease at first was a kind of tertian ague, which for some time continued under several appearances, with symptoms so favourable, that every other day he walked abroad in the palace garden: But now he began to be more confin'd; and about the end of *August* took his bed, and made a will relating to his private and domeſtick concerns. His fits still growing stronger, and his spirits weaker, he was remov'd from *Hampton-Court* to *White-Hall* (tho' *Whitelock* says he died at *Hampton-Court*.) Here he soon appear'd to be delirious, and his physicians began to think him in real danger; tho' his chaplains seem'd still to assure themselves of his recovery; insomuch that Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, in his prayer to God for him, is said to have expressed himself thus, *That they asked not for his life; for they were assur'd he had too great things for this man to do, to remove him yet; but they pray'd for his speedy recovery, because his life and presence were so necessary to divers things then of great moment to be dispatch'd.* His sickness still increasing, so that he seem'd to be drawing near his end, those of his council being alarm'd, came to put him in mind to nominate his successor, according to the *Humble petition and advice.* But he being now almost in a lethargy, and not answering to the purpose, they ask'd him again, whether 'twas his will that his eldest son *Richard* should succeed him in the *Protectorship*; to which 'twas said he answer'd, Yes. *Ludlow* says, the commissioners of the great seal attended for signing the declaration of the person to be appointed his successor; but whether he

He ap-  
points his  
son Ri-  
chard to  
succeed  
him.

was

1658.

was unwilling to discover his intentions to leave the succession to his son, lest thereby he should, in case of recovery, disoblige others whom he had put in expectation of that power; or whether he was so discompos'd in body and mind, that he could not attend that matter; or lastly, whether he would have named, or did name any other, is uncertain: but certain it is, that the commissioners were not admitted till the *Friday* following, when the symptoms of death were apparent upon him. Others give this account of the Protector's last sickness, and the business of a successor: That after *Cromwell* had been some time ill, a malignant humour broke out in his foot, which hindering him from the exercise of walking or riding abroad, he oblig'd his physicians to endeavour to disperse it, which they attempting to do, drove it upwards to his heart; by which means he became desperately sick, and in the beginning of *September* the symptoms of death appear'd upon him; and asking one of his physicians, *what he thought of his case?* the doctor answer'd, *My Lord, there is no more oil in that lamp which has given so much light to both church and state.* The dying Protector replied with a magnanimity worthy of him, *When do you think it will go out?* The physician told him, *In two days at farthest:* Upon which *Cromwell* said, *It is time then to settle my mind, and provide for the safety of the state.* Accordingly he sent for his council, and recommended to them the choice of a successor, tho' by the *Humble petition and advice* he might nominate one himself, which it was expected he would have done. The author of the *History of England, during the reigns of the royal house of Stuart,* says, lieutenant general *Fleetwood* did, without doubt, expect to have been declar'd successor to *Cromwell*, and without doubt had been so promis'd by his father-in-law; and he farther says, his manuscript author, who had his memoirs from

the

1658.

the Earl of Orrery (the famous Lord Broghill in Cromwell's time) affirms Oliver made Fleetwood his heir ; but one of his daughters knowing where his will was, took it away and burnt it, before Fleetwood could come at it : And a few minutes before Cromwell's death, when he was ask'd, *Who should succeed him*, he reply'd, *In such a drawer of the cabinet, in my closet, you will find it.* Fleetwood found himself trick'd, and the whole council against him ; so he fell in with them, waiting an opportunity to right or revenge himself. However this was, on the third of September (his beloved He dies,) and victorious day, on which he had twice triumph'd for two of his greatest victories, at Dunbar and Worcester) about three in the afternoon, the Protector expired ; on which day, or, as some say, the day before, there happen'd the most violent storm of wind that had ever been known ; which I have not so strong a fancy as to imagine, with a certain author, was any thing preternatural ; any more than I can believe the prediction of colonel Lindsey as to the day of the Protector's death, which is founded upon the story of his making league with the devil ; a story, which, by the very silliness of the relation, sufficiently confutes itself.

Thus the famous Oliver Cromwell, after so many great actions, so many toils and fatigues, and so many plots and conspiracies against his life, at last died quietly in his bed. He expired in the sixtieth year of his age, five years four months and fourteen days after the dissolution of the long parliament, four years eight months and eighteen days after he had been declar'd Protector by the *Instrument of government*, and but one year three months and nine days, after his being confirmed in that office by the *Humble petition and advice*.

Thus having given a faithful account of the actions of this great man, I might leave every one to judge of his character from thence : However, it

His age,  
and the  
time of  
his go-  
vernment.

may

1658. may not be amiss to take a short view of it: As to his person, he had a manly stern look, and was of an active healthful constitution, able to endure the greatest toil and fatigue. When he appear'd first in the parliament, he made no great figure, there seemed to be nothing extraordinary in him, he discover'd none of those talents which use to gain applause, and work upon the affections of the hearers and standers-by; yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts seem'd to be rais'd, as if he had faculties that lay conceal'd, till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of custom. His conversation among his friends was very diverting and familiar, but in publick reserv'd and grave. He used often to consult with the Lord Broghill, Pierpoint, Whitelock, Sir Charles Wolsey and Thurloe; and would be shut up three or four hours together with them in private discourse, and none were admitted to come in to him: He would sometimes be very chearful, and laying aside his greatness, would be exceeding familiar; and by way of diversion would make verses with them, and every one must try his fancy: He commonly call'd for tobacco, pipes, and a candle, and would now and then take a pipe himself; then he would fall again to his great and serious busines, and would advise with them about his weighty and important affairs.

HE affected, for the most part, a plainness in his clothes; but in them, as well as in his guards and attendance, he appear'd with magnificence upon publick occasions. He was very temperate, sparing in his diet, and tho' sometimes he would drink freely, yet never to excess: He was moderate in all other pleasures, and after his first reformation, free from all visible immoralities, and seem'd to be a great enemy to vice, and a lover

of

of virtue; always taking care to suppress the former, and encourage the latter. He writ a tolerable good hand, and a style becoming a gentleman, except when he used to cant, which, whether it was affected or sincere, I leave others to judge. His speeches were for the most part ambiguous, especially in publick meetings, wherein he rather left others to pick out his meaning, than told them himself; tho' at other times he sufficiently shew'd he could command his style according as there was occasion, and would deliver himself with such a force and strength of expression, that 'twas commonly said, *That every word he spoke was a thing.* He loved men of wit, and was a great admirer of musick, entertaining the most skilful in that science in his pay and family. He respected all persons that excell'd in any art, and would procure them to be sent or brought to him. He was very well read in the *Greek* and *Roman* story; but 'tis very obvious, that in governing these nations, he studied men more than books, so that his turn was served in all offices. No man was ever better serv'd, nor took more pains to be so: No man more cunningly div'd into the manners of men, and into the tempers of those whom he had any thing to do with, nor sooner discover'd their talents. And if he came to hear of a man fit for his purpose, tho' ever so obscure, he sent for him, and employ'd him; suiting the employment to the person, and not the person to the employment; and upon this maxim in his government depended, in a great measure, his success.

HE had undoubtedly a wonderful knowledge of men, and by his great penetration could soon discover their abilities and qualifications: An instance of which we have in Dr. Calamy's Life of Mr. Howe. He tells us, that Mr. Howe having occasion to come to London, had a mind

to

1658. to hear a sermon at *White-Hall*, on the last Sunday he design'd to stay in town. The Protector seeing him, knew him to be a country minister by his habit; and discerning something more than ordinary in his looks, sent a messenger to him, desiring to speak with him after the service was over. Mr. *Howe* waiting upon him accordingly, the Protector desired him to preach before him the next Lord's day; and told him it was in vain to attempt to excuse himself, for that he would take no denial. Mr. *Howe* pleaded, that his people expected him, and would be uneasy if he staid any longer from them: But *Cromwell* undertook to write to them himself, and to dispatch one to supply his place, which he actually did; and Mr. *Howe* preach'd before him as he was desired. *Cromwell* pressed him to do the same a second and a third time; and after much free conversation in private, nothing would satisfy him but he must be his household chaplain; and he promised to take care that his place should be supply'd at *Tottenham* to the people's content. Mr. *Howe* was highly respected by the Protector, and had a great interest in him; tho' he was once like to lose his favour, upon the following occasion (as related by the above-mentioned author.) The notion of a particular faith in prayer, carry'd even as far as to inspiration it self, prevailed much in *Cromwell's* court; and great pains were taken to cultivate and support it. Mr. *Howe* having heard a sermon from a noted person, in defence of this notion, resolv'd the next time his turn came to preach before the Protector, to oppose such spiritual pride and confidence. *Cromwell* heard him with great attention; but would sometimes knit his brows, and discover great uneasiness. After the sermon, a person of distinction came to him, and asked if he knew what he had done; and signified his apprehension, that the Protector would be so offended

at that discourse, that he would find it a hard matter ever to make his peace with him, or secure his favour for the future: And Mr. Howe himself afterwards observed, that *Cromwell* was cooler in his carriage to him than before; tho' he never mentioned the sermon to him.

To return to his character: He had a rare faculty of examining and winding about the minds of all, even his enemies, which he could beset with innumerable snares and artifices. He often made feasts for the inferior officers of the army, and as they were eating, he would order the drums to beat, and call in his foot-guards, to fall on and snatch off the meat from the table, before they had half done; after which, to make farther diversion, he would proceed to throwing of cushions, putting burning coals into their boots and pockets, and a hundred such pranks: And when the officers had sufficiently tired themselves with laughing and sporting in that manner, he wou'd wheedle them to open their hearts, and so draw from them some secrets of the greatest moment; while himself, sounding the opinions of others, artfully conceal'd his own. He had an absolute command over all his passions and affections, so that he could suit his carriage to all companies and occasions. He would sometimes be very merry and jocund with some of the nobility; and would then take occasion to tell them, what company they had lately kept, and when and where they had drank the King and royal family's health; advising them, when they did it again, to do it more privately; and this without the least sign of passion, but in a way of mirth and drollery. Having entertained some jealousy of General Monk in Scotland, he, a little before his death, wrote a letter to him with his own hand. The body of the letter contained only some general matters relating to the government; but after his usual drolling manner, he subjoin'd this by

way of postscript, which was indeed the main occasion of the letter: *There be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce Charles Stuart; I pray use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me.*

ALL allow he was an extraordinary genius, and master of the most refined policy; that he had a great spirit, a wonderful circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution. His courage and conduct in the field, were undoubtedly admirable; he had a greatness of soul, which the greatest dangers and difficulties rather animated than discouraged; and his discipline and government of the army was in all respects such as might become the most renowned and accomplish'd General. "He must, says the lord *Clarendon*, have had a wonderful understanding in the natures and humours of men, and as great a dexterity in applying them, who, from a private and obscure birth (tho' of a good family) without interest or estate, alliance or friendship, could raise himself to such a height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory tempers, humours, and interests, into a consistence that contributed to his designs, and to their own destruction; whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed, in the instant that they projected to demolish their own building."

AMBITIOUS he certainly was to a very high degree, and yet at the same time seem'd to have a passionate regard to the publick good: And if this was really the case, the former seems to have so far blinded him, as to make him think many things were for the publick good which really were not so: But how far the necessity of affairs, and the confusion and unsettled state the nation was then in; how far this extraordinary case, I say, might justify

justify such proceedings in some instances, in order to prevent greater confusions and distractions, or whether this was really *Cromwell's* design in those proceedings, I leave the reader to judge. But whatever censure we are to pass upon his actions of this kind, it is allow'd by all, even by his enemies, that he perform'd many great and laudable things to the honour and advantage of the nation. One of them \* reckons them up thus: " 1. By *Blake*\* *Coke*.  
" he more humbled and subdu'd the *Algerine*, *Tri-*  
" *poli* and *Tunis* pirates, than ever any before or  
" since did. 2. *Westminster-hall* was never reple-  
" nish'd with more learned and upright judges  
" than by him; nor was justice, either in law or  
" equity, in civil cases, more equally distributed,  
" where he was not a party. 3. When the *Nor-*  
" *way* traders represented to him the mischief and  
" inconveniences of the act of navigation, he, dur-  
" ing his time, dispensed with it, and permitted  
" the *English* to trade to *Norway* for timber, masts,  
" pitch, tar, and iron, as before the act: And by  
" a law made in his third parliament, licence is  
" given to transport fish in foreign bottoms. 4.  
" Though he play'd the fool in making war with  
" *Spain*, and peace with *France*, yet he made a  
" more advantageous treaty of commerce for the  
" *English* to *France*, than before they had. 5.  
" Tho' he join'd forces with the *French* against  
" the *Spaniards*, yet he reserv'd the sea-towns con-  
" quer'd from the *Spaniard*, to himself, and so had  
" *Dunkirk* and *Mardyke* delivered up to him, and  
" would have had *Ostend*, if the garrison had not  
" cheated both *Mazarine* and him; thereby to  
" be arbitrator over the *French*, as well as *Spa-*  
" " *niards*, when he pleas'd. 6. *Cromwell* outvy'd  
" the best of our Kings, in rendering our laws to  
" the subject in the *English* tongue: For tho' *Ed-*  
" " *ward* I. permitted pleading in the *English* tongue,  
" yet he went no farther; whereas *Cromwell* ren-

" der'd not only the pleadings, but practice, and  
" laws themselves into *English*." In short, he apply'd himself so industriously to the busines of the commonwealth, and discover'd such abilities for managing it, that his greatest enemies acknowledg'd he was not unworthy of the government, if his way to it had been just and innocent. And he shew'd his good understanding in nothing more than in seeking out capable and worthy men for all employments, but more particularly for the courts of law, which gave a general satisfaction.

THO' he was brave in his person, yet he was wary in his conduct; for from the time he was first declared Protector, he always wore a coat of mail under his clothes. He was very cautious and reserved whenever there was occasion, and in matters of greatest moment trusted none but his secretary *Thurloe*, and oftentimes not him; an instance of which the secretary us'd to tell of himself:  
" That he was once commanded by *Cromwell* to  
" go at a certain hour to *Gray's-Inn*, and at such a  
" place deliver a bill of 20,000*l.* payable to the  
" bearer at *Genoa*, to a man he should find walking  
" in such a habit and posture as he described him,  
" without speaking a word." *Thurloe* did as he was order'd; and never knew to his dying day, either the person or the occasion. At another time the Protector came late at night to *Thurloe's* office, to give him directions about something of great importance and secrecy; which having done, he observ'd, that Mr. *Moreland*, one of the clerks, was in the room, seeming to be asleep upon his desk; but suspecting that he might not really be so, and that he might have overheard their discourse, he presently drew a poniard, which he always carried under his coat, and would have dispatched him upon the spot, if *Thurloe* had not earnestly intreated him to desist, and assured him, that *Moreland* having sat up two nights together, was now certainly fast asleep.

No Prince seem'd to be master of so much, and so particular intelligence as *Cromwell*; of which I have given some remarkable instances in the foregoing history, and shall here add one more, as wonderful as any of the rest: A gentleman who had serv'd the late King, desir'd leave of the Protector to travel, and obtain'd it, on condition *he should not see Charles Stuart*. Accordingly arriving at *Cologn*, he sent to desire of the King that he might wait on him by night, which was agreed to. And when he had fully discours'd of the busness he came about, he took leave, having receiv'd a letter which he sew'd within the crown of his hat. Upon his return to *England*, he came with confidence to the Protector; and being ask'd by him, *If he had punctually perform'd his promise?* he answer'd, *that he had*: But, said his Highnes, *Who was it that put out the candles when you spoke to Charles Stuart?* The gentleman was startled at this unexpected question; and the Protector farther demanding, *What he said to him*, he answer'd, *Nothing at all*. *Did he not send a letter by you then?* said *Cromwell*; and the gentleman denying that also, *Cromwell* took his hat, and having found the letter, sent him immediately to the *Tower*.

His maintaining the honour of the nation in all foreign parts, gratify'd the temper which is very natural to *Englishmen*. Of this he was so careful, that tho' he was not a crown'd head, yet his ambassadors had all the respects and honours paid them, which our Kings ambassadors ever had. He would say, *That the dignity of the crown was upon the account of the nation, of which the King was only the representative head; and therefore the nation being still the same, he would have the same respect paid to his ministers*. And 'tis very observable, that *Lockhart*, *Cromwell's* ambassador in *France*, and governour of *Dunkirk*, told *Bishop Burnet*, *That when he was sent afterwards ambassador by King Charles,*

Charles, he found he had nothing of that regard that was paid him in Cromwell's time.

THE regard he had to the commerce of the nation, his care to protect it from foreign insults, and speedy method of obtaining satisfaction and reparation for injur'd merchants, appears by the following remarkable instance: An *English* merchant-ship was taken in the chops of the channel, carried into *St. Maloes*, and there confiscated upon some groundless pretence. As soon as the master of the ship got home, he presented a petition to the Protector in council, setting forth his case, and praying for redress. Upon hearing the petition, the Protector told his council, he would take that affair upon himself, and order'd the man to attend him next morning. He examin'd him strictly as to all the circumstances of his case, and finding, by his answers, that he was a plain, honest man, and that he had been concern'd in no unlawful trade, he ask'd him, if he could go to *Paris* with a letter? The man answer'd he could. Well then, says the Protector, prepare for your journey, and come to me to-morrow morning. He accordingly went, and *Cromwell* gave him a letter to Cardinal *Mazarine*, and told him he must stay but three days for an answer. The answer I mean, says he, is, the full value of what you might have made of your ship and cargo; and tell the Cardinal, that if it is not paid you in three days, you have express orders from me to return home. The man did as he was directed, and upon the Cardinal's shuffling with him, return'd as he was order'd. As soon as the Protector saw him, he ask'd him if he had got his money? And upon his answering, he had not, the Protector said to him, then leave your direction with my secretary, and you shall soon hear from me. Tho' there was a *French* minister residing here, *Cromwell* did not so much as acquaint him with the affair, but immediately sent a man of war

or

or two to the channel, with orders to seize every *French* ship they could meet with. Accordingly they return'd in a few days with two or three *French* prizes, which the Protector order'd to be immediately sold, and out of the produce, he paid the merchant what he demanded for his ship and cargo. Then he sent for the *French* minister, gave him an account of what had happen'd, and told him there was a balance, which, if he pleas'd, should be paid in to him, to the end that he might deliver it to those of his countrymen, who were the owners of the *French* ships, that had been so taken and sold.

Few Princes ever bore their character higher upon all occasions than our Protector, especially in his treaties with crown'd heads. And 'tis a thing without example that's related by one of the best inform'd historians of the age, namely *Puffendorf*, in his Life of the Elector of Brandenburg, That in *Cromwell's* league with *France* against *Spain*, he would not allow the *French* King to call himself King of *France*, but King of the *French*; whereas he took to himself not only the title of Protector of *England*, but likewise of *France*: And which is yet more surprizing, in the instrument of the treaty, the Protector's name was put before the *French* King's. *France* indeed was then under a minority, and was not arriv'd to that power and greatness, which it afterwards attain'd to; towards which our Protector contributed not a little, by that alliance with *France* against *Spain*, which is generally reckon'd the falsest step he ever made, with respect to the repose of *Europe*, and for which he has been highly reflected on. But I shall here set down, in his behalf, what Sir *William Temple* writes concerning him on this occasion, in the third part of his *Memoirs*.

" CARDINAL Mazarine, says that author, having surmounted his own dangers, and the difficulties incident to a minority, pursu'd the plan left him by his predecessor (*viz.* Cardinal Rich-

" lieu;) and by his measures taken with *Cromwell*, and the assistance of an immortal body of  
 " 6000 brave *English*, which, by agreement, were  
 " to be continually recruited, he made such a pro-  
 " gress in *Flanders*, that *Cromwell* soon perceiv'd  
 " the balance turn'd, and was grown too heavy on  
 " the *French* side: Whereupon he dispatch'd a  
 " gentleman privately to *Madrid*, to propose there  
 " a change of his treaty with *France*, into one  
 " with *Spain*; by which he would draw his forces  
 " over into their service, and make them 10000,  
 " to be continually recruited, upon condition their  
 " first action should be to besiege *Calais*, and  
 " when taken, to put it into his hands. The per-  
 " son sent upon this errand, was past the *Pyrenees*,  
 " when he was overtaken by the news of *Crom-  
 well's* death: Whereupon *Mazarine* having not  
 " only lost his strongest support in *Flanders*, but  
 " observ'd how his design would never be serv'd  
 " by any measures he could take with *England*,  
 " however it should be govern'd, resolv'd upon a  
 " peace with *Spain*, and made it at the *Pyrenees*."

*CROMWELL's* influence was so great in *France*, that the Cardinal durst not deny him any thing; which he took very hard, and complained of to those he could be free with. He one day made a visit to Madam *Turenne*, and when he took his leave of her, she, as she was wont to do, besought him to continue gracious to the churches. Upon which *Mazarine* told her, "That he knew  
 " not how to behave himself. If he advis'd the  
 " King to punish and suppress their insolence,  
 " *Cromwell* threaten'd him to join with the *Spaniard*; and if he shew'd any favour to them, at  
 " *Rome* they accounted him an *Heretick*." 'Twas said, that the Cardinal would change countenance, when he heard *Cromwell* nam'd; so that it pass'd into a proverb in *France*, That he was not so much afraid of the devil as of Oliver *Cromwell*.

SPAIN

S P A I N dreaded him, and courted his friendship, as much as *France*, tho' the latter prevail'd. When the *Spanish* ambassador was inform'd, that the fleet under *Penn* and *Venables* was gone towards the *West-Indies*, and that the storm was likely to fall upon some of his master's territories, he applied himself to the Protector, to know whether he had any just ground of complaint against the King his master; if so, he was ready to give him all possible satisfaction. The Protector demanded a liberty to trade to the *Spanish West-Indies*, and the repeal of the laws of the *Inquisition*: To which the ambassador reply'd, *That his master had but two eyes, and that he would have him to put them both out at once.*

T H E States of *Holland* so dreaded him, that they were very careful to give him no manner of umbrage: And when at any time the King or his brothers came to see their sister, the Princess of *Orange*, within a day or two they us'd to send a deputation to acquaint them, that *Cromwell* had oblig'd them to give them no harbour. When King *Charles* was seeking for a pretext for a war with the *Dutch*, in 1672, he made this one, That they suffer'd some of his rebellious subjects to live in their country. *Borel* their ambassador answer'd, That it was a maxim of long standing among them, not to enquire upon what account strangers came to live in their dominions, but to entertain them all, unless they had been guilty of conspiring against the persons of Princes. The King thereupon telling him, how they had us'd him and his brothers, the ambassador with much simplicity answer'd, *Alas, Sir, that was another thing: Cromwell was a great man, and made himself be fear'd both by land and sea.* To which the King reply'd, *I'll make my self be fear'd too in my turn.* But, as is observ'd, he was scarce as good as his word.

Even the Turks stood in awe of *Cromwell*, and durst not offend him. And all *Italy* trembled at his name, and seem'd under a pannick fear as long as he liv'd. When admiral *Blake* sail'd into the *Mediterranean*, the city of *Rome*, and all the Pope's territories were greatly alarm'd; and the terror of the people was such, that publick processions were made, and the Host was exposed forty hours, to avert the wrath of heaven, and prevent *Blake's* attacking the dominions of the church. And indeed we are told, that *Cromwell* used to say, *That his ships in the Mediterranean should visit Civita Vecchia, and the sound of his cannon should be heard in Rome.* But in the midst of this power and grandeur, death put an end to all his high projects and daring designs.

**His magnificent lying in state.**

I shall now finish this work with a particular account of the magnificent funeral of this great man. The corps, at least in appearance, was on the 26th of September at night, privately remov'd from *Whiteball* in a mourning herse, attended by his domestick servants, to *Somerset-House*. A few days after, his effigy was, with great state and magnificence, expos'd openly, multitudes daily flocking to see the sight, which appear'd in this order. The first room was wholly hung with black; at the upper end of which, was plac'd a cloth and chair of state. In like manner were the second and third rooms, all having scutcheons very thick upon the walls, and guards of partizans for people to pass thro'. The fourth room was compleatly hung with black velvet, the cieling being also cover'd with the same. Here lay the effigy under a noble canopy of black velvet, apparell'd in the most magnificent robes, lac'd with gold, and furr'd with ermines, with a scepter in one hand, and a globe in the other, and a sword hanging by its side, and a rich cap on the head, suitable to the robes.

robes. Behind the head was placed a chair and cushion of tissu'd gold, in which lay an imperial crown, beset with diamonds and other precious stones. The bed of state on which the effigy lay, was cover'd with a large pall of black velvet, under which was a *Holland* sheet, born up by six stools cover'd with cloth of gold. The bed was inclos'd with rails and balusters, and, besides solemn mourners, surrounded with banners, banrols, and all kinds of trophies of military honours. Within the rails stood eight silver candlesticks about five foot high, with white wax tapers standing in them, of three foot long. At each corner of the rails was erected an upright pillar, which bore on their tops lions and dragons, holding in their paws streamers crowned. The effigy having for some weeks continued in this posture, on the first of *November* was removed into the great hall, where with new ornaments and ceremony it was plac'd, standing upon an ascent under a cloth of state, with the imperial crown upon the head. Four or five hundred candles set in flat shining candlesticks, were so plac'd round near the roof of the hall, that the light they gave seem'd like the rays of the sun; by all which his late Highness was represented as now in a state of glory.

HAVING remain'd thus till the 23d of *November*, the waxen effigy of the Protector, with the <sup>His pomous funeral.</sup> crown on his head, sword by his side, globe and scepter in his hands, was plac'd in a stately open chariot, cover'd all over with black velvet, and drawn by six horses cover'd with the same, both chariot and horses, being adorn'd with plumes and other ornaments. The streets from *Somerset-House* to *Westminster-Abby*, were guarded on both sides of the way by soldiers in new red coats and black buttons, with their ensigns wrapp'd in cypres. The procession was in the following manner: First

of all went a marshal attended by his deputy, and thirteen more on horse-back, to clear the way: After these follow'd the poor men of *Westminster* by two and two, in mourning gowns and hoods; and next to them, the servants of those persons of quality that attended the funeral. Then came the Protector's late domestick servants, with his barge-men and watermen, follow'd by the servants of the Lord-mayor and Sheriffs of *London*; after whom follow'd the gentlemen attendants on foreign ambassadors and publick ministers. After these march'd the poor knights of *Windsor* in gowns and hoods; then the clerks, secretaries, and officers of the army, admiralty, treasury, navy, and exchequer; next, the commissioners of the excise, of the army, and committee of the navy. Then march'd the commissioners for approbation of preachers, and behind them, all the officers, messengers, and clerks belonging to the privy-council, and both houses of parliament. Next in order follow'd his late Highness's physicians, the head officers of the army, the officers and aldermen of *London*, the masters of *Chancery*, and the Protector's council at law; the judges of admiralty, judges in *Wales*, and master of requests; the barons of the exchequer, judges of both benches, and the Lord-mayor of *London*; the persons ally'd in blood to the Protector, and the members of the late *Other House*; the publick ministers of foreign princes, the Dutch ambassador alone, having his train held up by four gentlemen; then the *Portugal* ambassador, and the *French* ambassador in like manner; the lords commissioners of the great seal, the commissioners of the treasury, and his Highness's privy-council. These all mov'd in a solemn and pompous procession, each division or company being distinguish'd by drums, trumpets, banners, and led horses.

horses. Then came the chariot with the effigy, on each side of which were six banrois born by several persons ; and likewise several pieces of the Protector's armour, carry'd by eight officers of the army, attended by the heralds. Next went garter, principal king at arms, attended by a gentleman on each hand bare-headed ; and then came the chief mourner : After which follow'd the horse of honour, in very rich trappings embroider'd on crimson velvet, and adorn'd with white, red, and yellow plumes, being led by the master of the horse. The rear of this noble shew was brought up by the Protector's guard of halberdiers, the warders of the *Tower*, and a troop of horse. The effigy being brought in this manner to the west end of the *Abby* church, was taken from the chariot by ten gentlemen, and carried through the church under a canopy of state up to the east end, where it was plac'd in a most magnificent structure built for that purpose, to remain for a certain time expos'd to publick view.

AFTER all, as the Author of the *Compleat History of England* observes in his notes, it remains a question, where his body was really buried : It was, says he, in appearance, in *Westminster-Abby* ; some report it was carried below bridge, and thrown into the *Thames* ; but 'tis most probable that 'twas buried in *Naseby Field*. This account, continues he, is given, as averr'd, and ready to be depos'd, if occasion requir'd, by Mr. *Barkstead*, son to *Barkstead* the regicide, who was about fifteen years old at the time of *Cromwell's* death : " That the said *Barkstead* his father, being lieutenant of the *Tower*, and a great confident of *Cromwell's*, did, among other such confidents, in the time of his illnes, desire to know where he would be bury'd : To which the Protector answer'd, " Where he had obtain'd the greatest victory and " glory,

The place  
of his bu-  
rial uncer-  
tain.

"glory, and as nigh the spot as could be guess'd  
 "where the heat of the action was, viz. in the  
 "field at Naseby, Com<sup>r</sup> Northampton. Which ac-  
 "cordingly was thus perform'd: At midnight,  
 "soon after his death, the body (being first em-  
 "balm'd and wrapt in a leaden coffin) was in a  
 "herse convey'd to the said field, Mr. Barkstead  
 "himself attending, by order of his father, close  
 "to the herse: Being come to the field, they  
 "found, about the midst of it, a grave dug  
 "about nine foot deep, with the green sod  
 "carefully laid on one side, and the mould on  
 "the other; in which the coffin being put, the  
 "grave was instantly fill'd up, and the green sod  
 "laid exactly flat upon it, care being taken that  
 "the surplus mould should be clean remov'd.  
 "Soon after the like care was taken that the  
 "field should be entirely plough'd up, and it  
 "was sown three or four years successively with  
 "corn." Several other material circumstances,  
 says the fore-mention'd author, the said Mr.  
 Barkstead (who now frequents Richard's coffee-  
 house within Temple-Bar) relates, too long to be  
 here inserted.

IT is, I think, pretty certain, that Oliver's  
 corpse was not really interr'd in Westminster-Abby;  
 and consequently, that it was not his body that  
 was afterwards taken up and hang'd at Tyburn  
 for his: But whether this account of its being  
 buried in Naseby field, or the other of its being  
 sunk in the Thames, is most probable, I cannot  
 say. What is said for the former, we have seen;  
 and the other was related by a Gentlewoman  
 who attended Oliver in his last sickness, as we  
 are told by the Author of the *History of England  
 during the Reigns of the Royal House of Stuart*.  
 She told him, that the day after the Protector's  
 death, it was consulted how to dispose of his  
 corpse; when it was concluded, that considering  
 the

the malice of the cavaliers, it was most certain they would insult the body of their most dreadful enemy, if ever it should be in their power ; to prevent which, it was resolv'd to wrap it up in lead, to put it on board a barge, and sink it in the deepest part of the *Thames* ; which was undertaken and perform'd by two of his near relations, and some trusty soldiers, the following night.



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A

# P O E M

Upon the DEATH of  
*OLIVER CROMWELL,*  
LORD - PROTECTOR :

Alluding to the STORM that happen'd  
about that Time.

---

By Mr. WALLER.

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**W**E must resign ! heav'n his great soul does  
claim  
In storms as loud as his immortal fame :  
His dying groans, his last breath, shake  
our isle,  
And trees uncut fall for his fun'ral pile :  
About his palace their broad roots are tost  
Into the air : So *Romulus* was lost :  
New *Rome* in such a tempest miss'd her King,  
And from obeying, fell to worshipping.

ON

ON *Oeta's* top thus *Hercules* lay dead,  
With ruin'd oaks and pines about him spread ;  
Those his last fury from the mountain rent :  
Our dying hero, from the continent  
Ravish'd whole towns, and forts from *Spaniards* reft,  
As his last legacy to *Britain* left.

THE ocean, which so long our hopes confin'd,  
Cou'd give no limits to his vaster mind :  
Our bounds enlargement was his latest toil ;  
Nor hath he left us pris'ners to our isle :  
Under the tropick is our language spoke,  
And part of *Flanders* hath receiv'd our yoke.

FROM civil broils he did us disengage ;  
Found nobler objects for our martial rage :  
And, with wise conduct, to his country show'd  
The ancient way of conquering abroad.

UNGRATEFUL then, if we no tears allow  
To him that gave us peace and empire too !  
Princes that fear'd him, grieve, concern'd to see  
No pitch of glory from the grave is free.  
Nature herself took notice of his death,  
And, sighing, swell'd the sea with such a breath,  
That to remotest shores her billows roll'd,  
Th'approaching fate of their great ruler told.



# APPENDIX,

## CONTAINING

Some Account of the PROTECTOR'S  
CHILDREN, and of the State of Affairs till  
the KING's RESTORATION.

**T**HE Protector had three sons, *Oliver, Richard* and *Henry*. *Oliver* died young. *Richard* married *Dorothy* eldest daughter of *Richard Major, Esq;* of *Hurley* in *Hampshire*; where he liv'd a private life during the greatest part of his father's government; but towards the latter end of it he was sent for by him to come to court, and made one of his privy council, and soon after was chosen by the university of *Oxford* to be their chancellor, with which honour he was very solemnly install'd at *Whitehall*. He was said to be nominated by his father for his successor, tho' the truth of it was very much questioned; and 'twas thought he never design'd him for it, having scarce made any step towards training him up to it. However, upon his father's death, he was solemnly proclaim'd Protector all over *England, &c.* in the following form of words:

“ Whereas it hath pleased the most wise God,  
“ in his providence, to take out of this world the  
“ most serene and renowned *Oliver, late Lord*  
“ *Protector of this commonwealth:* And his High-  
“ ness having in his life-time, according to the  
“ *Humble Petition and Advice*, declared and ap-  
“ pointed the most noble and illustrious the Lord  
“ *Richard,*

"Richard, eldest son of his said late Highness, to  
"succeed him in the government of these nations :  
"We therefore of the privy council, together  
"with the Lord-mayor, aldermen and citizens of  
"London, the officers of the army, and numbers  
"of other principal gentlemen, do now hereby,  
"with one full voice and consent of tongue and  
"heart, publish and declare the said noble and il-  
"lustrious Lord *Richard* to be rightfully Protec-  
"tor of this commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*  
"and *Ireland*, and the dominions and territories  
"thereunto belonging ; to whom we acknowledge  
"all fidelity and constant obedience, according  
"to law, and the said *Humble Petition and Advice*,  
"with all hearty and humble affections, beseech-  
"ing the Lord, by whom Princes rule, to bless  
"him with long life, and these nations with peace-  
"and happiness under his government."

*RICHARD* was congratulated hereupon by addresses from all parts of the three kingdoms, declaring their resolutions to stand by him with their lives and fortunes. But the officers of the army being divided among themselves, and the republican party in particular labouring to undermine him, and restore their beloved commonwealth, he found himself necessitated to call a Parliament. A Parliament was accordingly summoned, which *Richard* met on the 27th of January, with the same state that the *English* Monarchs and his Father had done before him. They had not sat long before great differences and contentions arose between them and the army ; so that the officers being informed that some votes were pass'd in opposition to their designs, immediately sent *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* to the Protector, to advise him forthwith to dissolve the parliament. *Fleetwood* alledg'd, *That if this were not presently done, the nation would certainly be involved in blood.* *Desborough*, who was of a rougher temper, told him, 'Twas impos-

sible for him to keep both Parliament and Army his friends; and desired him to chuse which he would prefer: If he dissolved the Parliament out of hand, he had the Army at his devotion; if he refus'd that, he believ'd the Army would quickly pull him out of Whitehall. On the other hand, many members assur'd him, that the Parliament would continue firm to him, if he would but adhere to them: Some officers of the Army likewise, as *Ingoldsby*, *Whalley*, *Gough*, and *Howard*, offer'd to stand by him, against those who were called the *General Council* of the Army; and *Howard* in particular earnestly press'd him to exert himself by some vigorous action, such as supported his father's authority to the last: *You are Cromwell's son*, said he, *shew your self worthy of that name: This business requires a bold stroke, supported by a good hand; do not suffer your self to be daunted, and my head shall answer for the consequence.* *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborough*, and *Vane*, are the contrivers of this; *I will rid you of them; do but stand by me, and second my zeal with your name.* *Richard* answered, *That he did not love blood*; and being a man of an irresolute temper, was at last prevail'd on by the opposite party to dissolve the Parliament.

HAVING got rid of the Parliament, the council of officers were for laying *Richard* aside too; and so they restor'd the remnant of the Long Parliament, which *Oliver* had ejected, to their seats again; and *Richard*, after a reign of about seven months and twenty days, returned to his former private life. When he was quitting his palace of *Whitehall*, he ordered his servants to be very careful of two old trunks, which stood in his wardrobe. The men wonder'd at this; and one of his friends hearing him enquire very earnestly after them, ask'd him what was in them, that made him so much concerned about them? *Why, no less*, said *Richard*, *than the lives and fortunes of all the good people of England;*

England ; meaning the numberless addresses that were presented to him.

THE Long Parliament having sat about five months, were again put down by the ambitious *Lambert* ; and about three months after were again restor'd, by means of the soldiers revolting from their leaders, and declaring for the Parliament, and the interposition of General *Monk*, who now march'd out of *Scotland*, and finding the spirit of the people generally run that way, restored the secluded members also to their seats again. This made such an alteration in this assembly, that they soon dissolv'd themselves, having order'd a new Parliament to be summon'd ; which Parliament meeting on *April 25th 1660*, in about a month's time brought in the KING.

THE Lord *Clarendon* tells the following story of *Richard Cromwell*: That soon after the King's Restoration, he found himself under a necessity of retiring into *France* ; and having continu'd some years in obscurity at *Paris*, upon the first rumour of a war like to break out between *England* and *France*, he thought fit to leave that kingdom, and remove to *Geneva*. Taking his journey thither by *Bourdeaux*, and thro' the province of *Languedoc*, he went thro' *Pezenas*, a town belonging to the Prince of *Conti*, then Governour of *Languedoc*, who made his residence there. Staying some time in this place, he happen'd to meet with an old acquaintance of his father's, and his party ; who told him, *That the Prince of Conti expected all strangers who came to that town to wait on him, and that he treated all, particularly the English, with great civility ; that he need not be known, but that himself would inform the Prince, that another English gentleman was passing thro' the town, who would be glad to have the honour of kissing his hand*. The Prince, as his manner was, receiv'd him very civilly ; and began to discourse with him about the *English* affairs, asking several

several questions about the King, and whether all quietly submitted to his government ; and in the end said, *Well, that Oliver, tho' he was a traytor and a villain, was a brave man, had great parts, great courage, and was worthy to command ; but that Richard, that coxcomb and poltron, was surely the basest fellow alive ; what is become of that fool ? How was it possible he could be such a sot ?* He answer'd, *That he was betray'd by those he most trusted, and who had been most obliged by his Father ;* and so having no great pleasure of his visit, soon took his leave, and the next morning left the town. And about two days after, the Prince came to know that it was *Richard* himself, whom he had talk'd to after that manner. *Richard*, some years before the death of King *Charles II.* returned to *England* ; and having lived to a great age, as a remarkable example of the security of innocence, and the instability of human greatness, he dy'd at *Cheshunt* in *Hertfordshire*, in the year 1712.

*OLIVER*'s third son, *Henry*, married *Elizabeth*, eldest daughter of Sir *Francis Russel* of *Chippenham* in *Cambridgeshire*, and was by his father made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* ; where his deportment rendered him very popular, and he managed the government with so much discretion, that in a small time he brought that disordered nation into the most hopeful condition of a flourishing state : But being called away by the Long Parliament, upon his brother's submission, he would not offer to resist, but quietly laid down his charge. And thus ended the majesty and glory of the *Cromwell* family, which had made, not only its own, but all neighbouring nations to tremble.

THE Protector had four daughters, *Bridget*, *Elizabeth*, *Mary* and *Frances*. *Bridget* was married first to *Henry Ireton*, whom *Cromwell* left his deputy in *Ireland*, and of whom so much has been said in the former part of this history ; and he dy-

ing, she was afterwards married to lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*. *Elizabeth* was married to Mr. *John Cleypole*, and dy'd a little before her farther: *Whitelock* says, she was a lady of excellent parts, dear to her parents, civil to all persons, and courteous and friendly to all gentlemen of her acquaintance; and that her death did much grieve her farther. *Mary*, his third daughter, was married to *Thomas lord viscount Fauconberg*, afterwards created Earl by King *William*: She had the character of a wife and worthy woman, and was thought more likely to have maintained the post, than either of her brothers; whence it was commonly said, *That those who wore breeches, deserved Petticoats better; but if those in Petticoats (meaning her) had been in breeches, they would have held faster.* *Frances*, the youngest daughter, was married first to Mr. *Robert Rich*, grandson and heir of the Earl of *Warwick*; and afterwards to Sir *John Russel* of *Chippenham* in *Cambridgeshire*: She was also a very worthy person. 'Tis of her that the following story is told, by the author of the *History of England during the Reigns of the Royal House of Stuart*:

THAT Mr. *Jeremy White*, one of Oliver's domestick chaplains, a sprightly man, and a top wit of his court, made his addresses to the said lady *Frances*, who did not much disencourage him. But *Cromwell* being told of it, obliged the person who told him to be upon the watch; who hunting *Jerry White*, as he was commonly called, to the lady's chamber, ran immediately to tell the Protector of it. *Oliver* in a rage hastening thither, found *Jerry* on his knees kissing the lady's hand, or having just kiss'd it; and ask'd him what was the meaning of that posture before his daughter *Frank?* *White*, with much presence of mind, said, *May it please your Highness, I have a long time courted that young gentlewoman there, my lady's woman, and cannot prevail; I was therefore humbly*

*praying*

praying her ladyship to intercede for me. The Protector turning to the young woman, said, What's the meaning of this, hussy? Why do you refuse the honour Mr. White would do you? He is my friend, and I expect you should treat him as such. My lady's woman desiring nothing more, answered, If Mr. White intends me that honour, I shall not be against him. Say'st thou so, reply'd Cromwell, call Goodwin; this business shall be done presently, before I go out of the room. Jerry being gone too far to go back, they were married, and the Protector gave the young woman 500*l.* for her portion; which, with what she had sav'd before, made Mr. White easy in his circumstances, but in one thing, which was, that he never loved his wife, nor she him, tho' they liv'd together near fifty years afterwards. The above-mentioned author says he knew them both, and heard this story told when Mrs. White was by, who did not contradict it, but acknowledg'd there was something in it.

F I N I S.

